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JESUS AND PAUL

BY

BENJAMIN W. BACON

GALATIANS

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

JESUS AND PAUL

LECTURES
GIVEN AT MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD,
FOR THE WINTER TERM, 1920

BY

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TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF LETTERS CONFERRED
MARCH 9, 1920

PREFACE

The following course of lectures was delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, during the Hilary (mid-winter) term, 1920. Previous engagements had compelled the lecturer to reduce the period of his stay from the full year originally proposed to these relatively narrow limits. This drew from Principal Jacks the suggestion that the topic be made comprehensive, in order to afford a completer survey of the lecturer's understanding of New Testament Literature. With this design in view a subject was chosen which has of late received the attention of many scholars, but which seemed capable of a mode of treatment emphasizing the relation of growth rather than that of mere apposition or contrast. The transition from the gospel of Jesus to the gospel of Paul might thus be studied in a way to make it a means of relating the whole group of writings of the New Testament canon to the general movement of religious thought and life from which they sprang.

The course as originally given contained but eight lectures. At its conclusion the lecturer was asked to take part in the Oxford Summer School of Theology in the ensuing August, with the suggestion that the closing lecture of the original course (on the Johannine Literature) should be expanded into two for this purpose. The suggestion was adopted, and the Lectures as printed are therefore nine in number, the added material of Lectures VIII and IX being inclosed in [].

In submitting his work to the judgment of a wider public the lecturer aspires to no richer reward than to

win an approval in some degree approximating the generosity of treatment accorded at the ancient seat of English culture and religious thought.

New Haven, Ct., September, 1920.

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JESUS AND PAUL

LECTURE I

INTRODUCTORY

THE PHASES OF NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE, AS REFLECTING THE MOVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

1. *The Phases of the Literature*

The aim that we are pursuing in common in this brief course of study is an analysis of the early literature of Christianity in order to get at the springs of its life. We are to apply without reserve or restriction every process of historical and literary criticism which modern science places within our reach. We do this because as rational students of the history of civilization no less than as Christian believers we are persuaded of the preëminent value of Christianity as a force operative in the social organism. For as such it made itself felt in the reconstruction of the world which followed upon the downfall of Graeco-Roman heathenism, and the elements of its power are still available. At the beginning of our era national religion in the form of emperor-worship gave way to the Old Testament ideal of the Kingdom of God in Christianized form. Personal religion, which had taken the form of various oriental mystery religions and cults of individual immortality, also gave way. It yielded to the doctrine of an eternal life in the keeping of Christ with God. National religion and personal religion were combined in new forms, and the combination led to the conversion of

Europe. We look to it still to effect the Christianization of the world.

Enquiry of the sort here proposed implies, of course, the application of quite a new form of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Revelation and Inspiration will take on for us an altered meaning. Conservative brethren may even deny our right to apply the ancient terms to the new doctrine. But unless I quite mistake the meaning of Jesus, of Paul, and of that great disciple of Paul at Ephesus to whom tradition assigns the name of John, this is exactly what the New Testament calls upon us to do. A Christian, as against a mere rabbinic doctrine of Sacred Scripture, implies making of the letter a means of access to the eternal Spirit, and as such subordinate. The effort of Jesus and Paul was to secure this subordination. They stood opposed to a religion of the letter, of the scribe, of the written authority of a sacred book. Jesus waged his conflict against the "lawyers" who had changed the vital relation of sons to a Father in Heaven into legalism and book-religion. Paul attacked "the law." He took the conflict over into the abstract as an opposition between Law and Grace.

After Paul came reaction. The compiler of our first Gospel takes the view-point of the neo-legalist. "Matthew," as we call him, is a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bent at all costs on keeping in his treasure both the new and the old. Such is also the view-point of the Epistles of James and Jude, and of most of the ecclesiastical literature of the post-apostolic period.

But again the pendulum swings forward. The Ephesian evangelist, to whom tradition gives the name of "John," lifts the whole debate to a higher level. For him the value of the records of religion in the past is their ability to bring men into vital contact with the life of God in man, "the life," as he calls it, "even the

eternal life, which was from the beginning, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us in the form of a living Word, so that our eyes could see it and our hands handle it, a Word of life with which we still have an eternal, imperishable fellowship." In his interpretative Gospel this deutero-Pauline evangelist introduces a scene of Jesus as the incarnate Logos in dispute with the scribes concerning the authority of Moses and the Law. It is Paulinism in other language. The heart of it lies in Jesus' rebuke of the scribes' conception of Scripture and its value to religion. To them Scripture was simply a collection of authoritative precepts, obedience to which would win them the reward of a share in the world to come. To him it was a voice of the indwelling God. "Ye search the Scriptures," he says to his detractors, "because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and they are they that testify of me; but ye would not come unto me that ye might have life."

This Johannine principle is the Church's charter of intellectual freedom. We shall search the Scriptures as never before; but not because we think that *in* them, but only *through* them, we have eternal life. They bear witness to One that has it, an eternal Wisdom of God who spake by the prophets, and was incarnate in Christ.

Historico-critical analysis does not disregard the authority of the New Testament. It seeks it on a higher level. We search the Scriptures in order that we may bring ourselves and others into contact through them with the life of the eternal Logos, "the life that was from the beginning with the Father," that lies latent in the outward universe of order and law, that slumbers in the brute and dreams in man, but awakes to full consciousness in sons who know the Father; [1] the Logos that

1 Compare Philo (*conf. ling.* 28): "Those who have real knowledge of the one Creator and Father of all things are rightly called 'Sons of God.' And even if we are not yet worthy to be called 'Sons of God,' we may deserve to be called children of His eternal

is not only "latent" (ἐνδιάθετος as the Stoics said), but also "manifest" (προφορικός); "for the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, that ye may have fellowship with us; yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ."

Christianity comes down to us as the triumphant survivor in the conflict of religions in the Roman Empire; a survivor not by accident, nor by superhuman intervention from without, but by an inherent fitness to be the religion of a civilized and united humanity. Its ideal was that of a kingdom of God, a universal sovereignty of law and order in a commonweal of righteousness, peace, and good will. This ideal was primarily social, though individualism was already strongly felt. Taken over from Judaism and glorified, the doctrine of the Kingdom of God proved more acceptable in the long run to the mass of populations mingled in the Empire than the ideal of Rome's world-religion: Emperor-worship as the symbolic expression of a supreme loyalty to the genius of the Roman world order. "Christian" civilization on its social side means the adoption of Jesus' ideal. It centers in the prayer: "Thy kingdom come."

What Cæsar-worship had to commend it may be realized by comparing in our own time the patriotic devotion of which Japanese emperor-worship is capable. I will not speak of the extravagances of a nominally Christian empire, whose dominant caste aspired but recently to unify the world under its own Kultur. Civilization in the period of the Cæsars, centered around the Mediterranean, took over the Hellenistic conception of a supreme governor in whom as the embodiment of law and order in the commonwealth the divine impulse that controls the progress of humanity is manifest. Rejecting pagan imperialism the civilization which centers around

'image,' the most holy Logos." Cf. Mt. 11: 27; Jn. 1: 12, 18; 17: 3; I Jn. 3: 1–3; 4: 7; 5: 1–5, 18.

the Atlantic has preferred to take over its social ideal in the Christian form. And, as we have seen, the basis of this ideal was the divine sovereignty sung by Hebrew prophets and Psalmists. We have scarcely emerged as yet from the convulsive struggle, but we are done at last with the Roman ideal, which made slavery the lowest social stratum and military autocracy the highest. The mediæval ideal, it has been said, was the City of God. It may seem to-day to be not only distant but receding. Still it came within view, and the vision still lives as the goal of religion on its social side.

Graeco-Roman civilization took over also the essential ideals of individual religion as embodied in the Oriental cults of personal redemption. For far and wide ancient forms of nature-worship had been recast into "mysteries" through whose rites the devotee sought to share in the immortality attained by the dying and rising Savior-god. The modern world has adopted this religious ideal also. But it has preferred to take it over in the Christianized form of assimilation to the death and life of Jesus, self-devoted for the kingdom's sake and for the brotherhood; rather than in the Oriental form of assimilation to the death and life of some mythical hero or demi-god who was very far from representing in his reputed career the noblest aspirations of humanity.

Christianity comes down to us, then, as the survivor in the great imperial melting-pot of national and personal religions, triumphant because worthy, surviving because fitted to survive. The select literature of its age of conquest is the New Testament, a group of writings enshrined by the Church through the centuries as the very well-spring of its life. To reverent and sympathetic scrutiny this literature should yield up something of the secret of the triumph. We may not thereby bring ourselves in immediate view of the absolute religion, but we may at least expect to advance a stage in sorely

needed preparation for wise direction and culture of the religious impulse in our own disordered generation.

It is natural to our way of thinking to imagine the first propagandists of our faith advancing into the heathen world around them armed with an impervious religious system of their own, inchoate, if not complete, ready for acceptance by converted Gentiles. Early in the second century the Syrian church had indeed produced a compact manual of Christian ethics and eschatology known as *The Teaching of the Twelve*. That might perhaps be called a system in miniature. But the gospel of Paul was not a book. When he and his missionary associates set out to convert the Empire none of them had so much as thought of putting their message in written form. Their one book of religious faith and practice was the Synagogue Bible, the Greek Old Testament. This they had learned to interpret in a new way, some indeed not much otherwise than the scribes, but others more in the spirit of the Friend of publicans and sinners. Their religion was Judaism — more or less transfigured — and it carried with it the Bible of Judaism. But this was not their special message. For their message they borrowed a term from Isaiah, calling it "the gospel of peace," glad tidings of reconciliation with God, of a coming renewal of the world through the man ordained of God by the resurrection. The message was: Forgiveness of sins. The fourth evangelist expresses it in his report of the Commission of the Twelve by their risen Lord: "He said unto them 'Peace be unto you. As the Father hath sent me, I also send you.' Then, breathing upon them, he said: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye forgive they are forgiven them.'" [2]

[2] Principal Forsyth in an article quoted by Principal Garvie (*The Ritschlian Theology*, p. 420) makes a statement which how-

This "gospel," so far as it found visible expression, was embodied, after the manner of ancient religion, not in books but in symbolic ritual. Christianity consisted in the ordinances and their interpretation. When Saul the persecutor was called upon to identify his victims he did not search for writings. It is not even likely that as a Jew he would think of cross-examination on points of doctrine. Jewish orthodoxy is guaranteed not by acceptance of a statement of belief, but by a sacramentum, an *oath of loyalty* to Jehovah the one God, in whose service every capacity of man's nature should be united. Its "creed" is the so-called *Shema,* the same "yoke of the divine sovereignty" which Jesus, like many another Jewish martyr, took on him when he went to his death.[3] What Saul the persecutor saw and resented in the spreading sect was a new loyalty. It was attested by baptism, a new sacramentum, a ritual act of self-dedicatio whose significance was renewed by a frequently repeated memorial act of fellowship.

The Nazarenes, or Christians, were the people who practiced the rites of baptism and the Supper. The latter, a token of their "communion" or "partnership" (*κοινωνία*), as they called it, came from the very hand and voice of Jesus himself on the night of his delivering up to the cross. The Church repeated his farewell message to the disciples in his own words, it reënacted the supreme parable by which he had sealed his meaning on their hearts. In substance the supper was an act of self-dedication in which Jesus "covenanted" (Luke 22: 29, *διατίθημι ὑμῖν*) that the life he was willingly surrendering in the cause

ever sweeping seems to me historically justified: "Christianity is forgiveness," and he adds, "there is no forgiveness dissociated from the cross." That also I believe to be a fact as descriptive of the special message of the primitive evangelist, or missionary. Of course it is not true of Jesus' own preaching in Galilee.

[3] Mk. 12: 28–30.

of the Kingdom should be a sacrifice to God on Israel's behalf. As other Jewish martyrs had done before his time,[4] he offered his body and blood to God as a "propitiation" (ἱλασμός) on behalf of his people, and in a faith which not even the shadow of the cross could darken he gave tryst to those who had been with him in his trials at the banquet of the redeemed. He would meet them again at his table in his Kingdom. This "covenant" (διαθήκη) is the essence of the rite. As II. Macc. 7:36 says of the martyrs who "offered up both body and life for the laws of their fathers, entreating God that He would speedily be propitiated for their nation," Jesus also "died under a God-given 'covenant' of everlasting life."

The initial observance which marked the Christian of Paul's day was baptism; not instituted by Jesus himself during his earthly life, but adapted by his disciples from the practice by which his predecessor John had symbolized repentance from all the evil past in preparation for Jehovah's coming to inaugurate his reign on earth. The disciples of Jesus adopted it almost coincidently with the awakening of their belief in the Master's victory over death and his exaltation to the throne of heavenly glory to await a prompt return.[5] And in adopting it they were convinced that they were acting under the direction of his Spirit. To them the rite was the believer's logical response to the "covenant in the blood of the Master. The Supper symbolized Jesus' self-dedication unto death in their behalf. "My life . . . for you," those are its keywords. Baptism signified their participation in this death, an answering

[4] IV Macc. 6:27–29; 17:8–22.

[5] Save for the vague generalization of Mt. 28:19, the Gospels leave us in the dark as to the occasion of this significant adoption of the Johannine rite; for Jno. 3:22 has reference to pre-Christian baptism only.

penitent renunciation of all the evil past and a self-dedication under this God-given Christ. Taking upon them his name, and invoking him as "Lord," they gave themselves to the same cause for which he had given his life, and in which he had also received it back again with eternal glory. In baptism men became "votaries" of the glorified "Lord" who for their sakes had "devoted" himself. They were buried together with Christ that they might participate also in his resurrection. And their faith and loyalty received as it were the seal of a divine approval; for ecstatic powers and manifestations followed upon the act, marking every assembly of the "brethren" of this "Way" as men who (in their own estimation at least) had experienced that "outpouring of the Spirit" which according to the prophets was to characterize the opening of the messianic age.[6]

Not books, then, but these two observances form the true Ur-evangelium. "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup," says Paul, "ye do tell the story (καταγγέλλετε) of the Lord's death until he come." If he had been thinking of the Greek mysteries instead of the Jewish Redemption feast with its ritual "telling of the tale" (haggada) of Jehovah's deliverance, he might have said "ye do reënact the drama." But it is only the coloration of the primitive rites which is Hellenistic, the basis is Jewish. The primitive "teachings of baptisms" are less certainly identifiable, but they undoubtedly had to do with the putting off of the old man with his sinful deeds, and the putting on of the new man endowed with a new and heaven-sent life.

Such, then, was the true "beginning of the Gospel." The sacraments came first, the literature came afterward. It grew up around the sacraments, interpreting and enforcing their lessons. The first disciples did not

[6] Rom. 6: 1–11; I Cor. 10: 1–22.

appeal, as we do, to two witnesses, the Spirit and the Word, but to three: the Spirit outpoured from heaven; and the water; and the blood.

The proof of it, if we needed proof, is the manner in which Epistles and Gospels alike concentrate about these two foci. In the great doctrinal Epistles of Paul there are always just these two central ideas: Justification and Sanctification, or (as we might better say) Life in the Spirit. But justification is simply an expansion of the theme of the new covenant in the blood of Christ shed for many for the remission of sins, and Life in the Spirit is an expansion of the teaching of baptism, which was a "bath of regeneration," a birth into the eternal life, the life of the risen Christ. Not the great Epistles only, but Gospel narrative also in its general outline falls into just the same two divisions. It has a Galilean ministry which tells the story of how Jesus received the Spirit of Adoption to Sonship at his baptism, and thereafter went about manifesting its powers against temptation, disease, and all the opposition of evil. It has for its second part a Judean ministry which tells how he took up the cross and achieved the redemption, making "propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world." There is a third literary type of the Christian canon, the recorded utterance of contemporary "prophecy," or (as we call it) "apocalypse." This third type has not the polarity of the other two, but it manifestly develops that factor of the Supper observance which is represented in the Gospels by the saying: "Ye shall sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." These three: Epistles, the utterance of Apostles; Gospels, the utterance of evangelists and teachers; Apocalypse, the utterance of "prophets," form the material of our study.

Because Christianity did not come into the chaotic religious world of the Empire as a ready-made system

from without, impervious to the feeling and thought of the time, nor as a book, or theology, but only as a free and germinant idea, capable of drawing into itself and adapting every serviceable element from its environment, we should expect to find, and do find, the ebb and flow of the tides of religious thought leaving their mark in the structure of this literature, and not outside alone. As some of those exquisite flower-like forms of ocean's bed build themselves up out of material carried on the currents that sweep in and out through their pores, so the literature of Christianity's formative age retains within its structure watermarks of the conflict of religious forces pouring now from the Jewish, now from the Hellenistic world; and while the more vital consciousness subdues and assimilates the weaker, yet the weaker finds a place and reappears, though in transfigured form. National religion in even its proudest development, the worship of the genius of Rome, disappeared before the new universal religion. But its best elements were not destroyed. They were fulfilled in the transfigured doctrine of the kingdom of God. Nature-worship, in its Hellenistic adaptation to the hope of immortality by participation in the divine nature, went down before the gospel of the risen Christ. But the Hellenistic doctrines of personal immortality had their resurrection. In conflict with them the crude Jewish eschatology of a restoration of all things in a kingdom inherited by flesh and blood underwent a change so complete as to leave scarce a trace of its earlier form. Little remains of it in the fourth Gospel beyond the assurance that departing we shall be "with Christ." The doctrine of raising from among the dead (*ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν*) is transformed into a doctrine of participation in the eternal life that is "hid in God."

It is the purpose of this introductory lecture to classify the successive types of New Testament literature

in the well known and generally admitted order of their appearance. First by an interval of decades come the great Epistles of Paul, continued in a later succession of Deutero-Pauline and Catholic Epistles. The latter are attributed to Apostles and Brethren of the Lord who had the authority of Apostles, and in substance as well as form are largely Pauline. Contemporary with some of the later Epistles come the Synoptic writings, beginning with Mark, and including both treatises of Luke. For practical purposes we group with these the kindred book of the Revelation of John. Later still, at the very close of the first century or beginning of the second, come the so-called Johannine writings, which consist of a Gospel and three brief Epistles.

It is important to observe that we cannot reckon the Revelation in the "Johannine" group, or class; we should reserve the term "Johannine" to this book which alone of the five canonized at Ephesus bears the name of "John" in its text. The Ephesian Gospel and Epistles while not much later in date than the Revelation are at the widest possible remove from it doctrinally, and as literature belong in a totally different class. We should also note that of the three groups described the first and third (Epistles and Johannine Writings) are composed exclusively of writings which are Greek, and never were anything but Greek; whereas the second group (Synoptics and Revelation) is almost as completely Semitic in origin, scarcely any part save the story of Paul in the second half of Acts having been originally composed in Greek. The rest seems to have been translated from Aramaic in its main substance.

The middle period of New Testament literature represents, therefore, an Aramaic enclave. The statement seems simple enough. It means only that the Synoptic writings and Revelation are based on translations from the Aramaic, and in this carefully chosen expression

would probably be admitted by all philologians. Considered in itself alone it is not a fact of great importance; for we may accept the translation as in general quite adequate. But considered as a symptom of the origin and nature of the material embodied in these naturalized Greek writings, it has an importance which entirely transcends the apprehension of the ordinary reader.

Stated in other terms the phenomenon is this: practically the whole literature of our European, Greek-speaking, Pauline Christianity, in those vital elements which cover the life and teaching of Jesus, and the founding and extension of the Church, together with its entire apocalyptic eschatology, is a foreign substance relatively to its literary context. It is a rib taken out from the body of the Aramaic-speaking branch of the Church, and grafted into the Pauline. The Palestinian mother-church was dispersed in the formative period of the New Testament, leaving no literature of its own. What survives is due to the pious care of the Pauline churches, which incorporated with their own apostolic writings such of the Aramaic material as could be made available. This material was foreign in language, and to some extent in conception also, but not really alien. Had it been foreign to this extent the adapted material could never have been vitalized at all. Unchristian material, whether Jewish or heathen, would never have been received; or if taken up it would have been promptly ejected. The enclave is Christian, but retains something of its Jewish origin. Apart from the single book of prophecy, ascribed in the editorial framework to John, this Aramaic material is distinctively, and in every sense of the word, "Petrine"; since not only the foundation narrative transmitted from Mark to the later Synoptists is universally understood to represent the reminiscences of Peter, but the subsequent story of the founding of the Church is centered on this Apostle.

But why did the Pauline churches take up this Semitic material? For two reasons. First, Paul himself looked back to and rested upon this Petrine authority (I Cor. 15:1–11); and after Paul's "departure" his churches had no other recourse against the unbridled speculations of Gnostic heresy. Second, while the translation probably errs if at all rather in the direction of too slavish literalness, the much more important matter of selection was entirely in the hands of Greek editors. And unless every indication both of ancient tradition and modern inference is wrong, these Greek editors took up only what was most congenial to the Pauline churches among which their compilations were intended to circulate. In Matthew we have a few traces of material which if not anti-Pauline is at least irreconcilable with Paul's teaching. The same is true of Acts. But editors anxious to believe that all Apostles taught precisely the same doctrine found a harmonizing sense quite as easily as moderns find it in the Epistle of James. Their catholicity was generously inclusive.

The case of Mark is typical, and this Gospel became determinative of later Synoptic narrative. There is good reason to accept the testimony of antiquity that this Petrine foundation stone of the sayings and doings of Jesus was compiled under the direction of Mark. At least it appeared under his authority. And Mark, as we know, was a follower of Paul. Until the end Mark was with Paul at Rome, or acting for him from Rome, as his trusted representative. Such connection as this lieutenant of Paul had had with Peter was probably only a matter of his young manhood, at least a score of years before the time of writing.

It is true that Mark appears in a different relation in a writing known to us as the First Epistle of Peter. This is an encyclical, later than the Gospel, addressed from Rome to the Pauline churches of Asia Minor. It

encourages them to stand fast in the fiery persecution they are called upon to undergo together with their brethren throughout the world, apparently the Domitianic persecution of about 90 A. D. It purports to speak for Peter, and conveys a greeting from "Mark" as Peter's (spiritual) "son," implying a *second* association of Mark with Peter after the death of Paul. I need hardly say that if the date 90 A. D. is correct the assumption to speak for Peter is a literary fiction. The device was regarded as admissible at the time, and perhaps at first was fully understood as the mere convention which it almost certainly is. Few scholars to-day would attempt to maintain Petrine authorship in any real sense. At all events everything about First Peter save the name is Pauline, and Pauline only. Hence we can use its mention of Mark as Peter's "son" only as witness to the regard which was accorded to the evangelist at the place of composition as early as 90 A. D. And this is of no small importance. For we learn from Acts that Mark really had been associated with Peter in the days before he accompanied Paul and Barnabas on the so-called First Missionary Journey. We may perhaps assume also that he came down with Peter from Jerusalem to Antioch after having left Paul and Barnabas at Perga. That was about the year 47 or 48. This early association with Peter might well account for his being referred to in the Epistle as Peter's spiritual "son."

The data of Acts will also account for Mark's being called an "interpreter" (ἑρμηνευτής) of Peter in a very ancient tradition of Palestinian origin which spoke of him as author of the Gospel. In its original form and sense this tradition is perfectly credible. Before his journey to Cyprus with Barnabas after the breach with Paul at Antioch Mark may very well have been associated with Peter. But there is not a word in the tra-

dition itself to justify the idea which second and third century writers formed by combining it with the mention of "Babylon" in I Pt. 5:13. Assuming (as they did) that Peter himself wrote the Epistle, and that "Babylon" stands for Rome (which is probably true) they inferred that after having been Paul's follower to the end at Rome Mark had become associated for a *second* time with Peter, this Apostle having come to take Paul's place in Rome. Peter was thus made in a direct sense responsible for the Roman Gospel; practically its author. If, however, we place his relation to Mark *before* Mark's association with Paul, as we probably should, Peter's connection with the narrative becomes much more remote.

The designation of Mark's Gospel the "Memoirs of Peter" is thus seen to be a typical second-century exaggeration. The Gospel is no doubt a product of the Roman church. It probably does represent in the most primitive form, the compilation by Mark of what he could gather, or remember, of the preaching of Peter. Its material was largely documentary, and has been translated from the Aramaic. But it is certainly not a primary Apostolic record; nor did the oldest form of the tradition even venture to call it such. It is a posthumous collection of Petrine material by a Paulinist for Paulinists. It represents the practical use to which primitive Palestinian material could be put by a great Greek-speaking, Gentile church, thoroughly Pauline in all its anti-Jewish tendencies, a decade or so after both Peter and Paul were dead.

If such be the case with the Gospel of Mark it is hardly needful to point out that the still later, probably Antiochian work Luke-Acts, and the Palestinian Gospel to which tradition early attached the name of "Matthew" have a similar history of adaptation. Both of these depend largely on Mark. Both are Greek com-

positions, merely employing Aramaic material, and the greater part even of this material was, like Mark, already in translation before the composition of the present Gospels. These, therefore, can no more than Mark aspire to be considered primary apostolic documents; but the later two go far beyond Mark in their exaltation of Peter. All three embody Palestinian material, some of it possibly as old as the letters of Paul. With it is much more which was Aramaic, perhaps Palestinian, but by no means so ancient.

The point of view of the Antiochian, and especially of the Palestinian Gospel is, as we should expect, much less in harmony with the ideas of Paul than the Roman. In particular they go very much further than Mark in taking up discourses of Jesus from an ancient source of unknown origin. This is what critics designate the Second Source, reconstructing it from the "double-tradition" material of Matthew and Luke. It presented Jesus' ministry largely as that of a teacher, one who saves men principally by indoctrination in the "wisdom that cometh from above." Probably the origin of both Matthew and Luke is largely due to the need independently felt in different quarters for enriching the Petrine tradition with this mass of teaching material.

Besides the four narrative books our Aramaic enclave includes also a fifth, of different type. This is the Palestinian "book of prophecy" which an Ephesian editor of about 93 A. D. gives out under cover of seven "letters of the Spirit" to the seven churches of Asia, attributing the incorporated visions to the martyred Apostle John, who is vaguely located on the Isle of Patmos. This work also is demonstrably an adaptation of Aramaic material. It seems to come largely from the period of Jerusalem's death-struggle with Rome a quarter-century before the time of republication at Ephesus. The churches addressed in the present

work are the Greek churches of the Ionic coast. The messages of the Spirit in the prefatory letters show clearly that their problems and dangers are those of the Pauline churches at this time and in this region. Their troubles are not with the sword of Rome, but with "Nicolaitans," "Balaamites," and others who "teach my servants to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed to idols." Name and description alike recall the three chapters devoted by Paul to this subject in I Cor. 8–10. The Palestinian churches to which the visions of the "prophecy" thus introduced would seem to have been originally addressed had quite other difficulties. Nevertheless in the time of storm and stress of Domitian, the second Nero, the Pauline "churches of Asia" threatened by Satan as a roaring lion in persecution without, and as a tempting serpent by heresy within, might well turn with eagerness to the consolations and encouragements of Palestinian "apocalypse," translating and circulating among themselves the visions which had done service in Palestine a generation before. For in the last year of his reign Nero had brought upon Jerusalem the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet.

Thus the great Aramaic enclave of our Greek New Testament, the enclave consisting of the four Synoptic writings and Revelation, covers the period which Clement of Alexandria significantly designates as "post-apostolic." It begins in 62 A. D. with the martyrdom of James in Jerusalem along with "others." These "others" may have included John the brother of the other James, who had been martyred in 41; for Papias records that the two sons of Zebedee were "killed by the Jews." The martyrdom of Paul at Rome had followed that of James the Lord's brother only a year or two later, and Peter's had taken place at about the same

date. Clement may well say, therefore, that the period of teaching of the Apostles closes with the death of Paul under Nero.[7] The enclave is later. Its adoption by the Greek churches represents in a sense a reaction from the free gospel of Pauline missionary evangelism. It is a reaction perfectly unavoidable, and on the whole salutary, toward the standpoint of the so-called Pillar-apostles. It came to an end, so far as incorporations in our canon are concerned, not far from the close of the first century, and was followed, as one might expect, by a new surge of Pauline re-interpretation of the gospel message on a higher scale, including the values and employing the forms of both elements. This resurge of Paulinism is what we have learned to call the Johannine literature, meaning by it not the writing which really names the Apostle John as its author, the Revelation, to which I referred above, but the four anonymous Ephesian writings of the same locality and but slightly later date, which came to be attributed traditionally to the same author. Ephesus had been the great headquarters of Paul's mission field. Here he worked longest, and had most occasion to give his system of thought its highest and most philosophic interpretation. It was therefore the predestined place of origin and center of dissemination for that "spiritual Gospel," as the Fathers learned to call it, which became the foundation of all the later theologies, rounding out the full cycle of the Pauline message. Nevertheless neither the thought of Paul, nor that of his great interpreter at Ephesus, found easy acceptance. It is full fifty years before any considerable effect of the "Johannine" type of teaching can be traced in Christian literature, eighty before any one quotes the Gospel by name as the work of an Apostle, and almost a century before it can claim a position of nearly undisputed authority alongside its three predecessors.

[7] *Strom.* VII, 17 (106 f.).

2. *The Reflected Movement of Religious Life*

As we bring our preliminary survey of the material to a close we are reminded that the conclusions of criticism are under challenge to prove not only their rational grounds, but their practical availability. Bible readers demand that criticism shall be "constructive," meaning thereby that it shall make the Scriptures at least as serviceable as before to the religious life.

Paradoxical as it may sound, I do not hesitate to name the Church-historian Ferdinand Christian Baur as the founder of "constructive" criticism. Before his time criticism had been predominantly negative and destructive. Confronted by a literature canonized by the post-apostolic Church because of its religious values it had indulged in sporadic bursts of rebellion against the tyranny of ecclesiastical tradition. It was battling for the bare "right to investigate the canon," and until this was conceded it could not "construct." Baur gave it a definite and comprehensive plan of campaign, with clearly conceived objectives. In the historian's view the critic had a larger task than mere disproof of a tradition largely based on theological dogma and handed down as of authority by divine right. He was called upon to give a better explanation than the traditional of the literature in question, to account adequately for its origin and effect, above all to explain its relation to the new forces of religious life which produced Christianity as we know it at the close of the second century, a developed, systematized, unified world-religion. Is not such criticism constructive?

Men think of Baur and the Tübingen School as destructive critics, because they went beyond all who had preceded them (and indeed beyond the next generation of their own followers) in sweeping the ground clear of disputable writings. Nothing was to remain save the

four major Epistles of Paul, whose date could be approximately known, and whose authenticity had never been called in question. Baur indeed believed that it never could be. He could not anticipate the eccentricities of a little group of hyper-critics in our own time, any more than his contemporaries could foresee the antics of our futurists in music, painting, or sculpture. Baur himself in rejecting such writings as First Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon went beyond all reasonable requirement of limitation to admitted data. But it was in order that he might build, like a true historian, on early documents, clearly authenticated, rather than on later and dependent, of unknown authorship and indeterminable origin.[8]

Baur rendered one great service by his insistence on discrimination in the historical valuation of the documents. He rendered another, still greater, by insisting on the relation between the literature, and the life from which it grew and to which it was intended to minister. To place the writings in their true environment, as products of their own time and contributory forces in its movement, is the prime condition of any interpretation deserving to be called historical. And if our interpretation is not historical it is futile. It may display any amount of wisdom from our own minds, but it certainly cannot any longer claim to give that of the biblical writers.

As a historical critic, bent on bringing the literature of the Church into mutually explanatory relations

[8] It is curious that the author of the slogan "Back to tradition" should make his "Contributions to New Testament Criticism" start from the narrative writings attributed to Luke, and having established the date and authenticity of these to his own satisfaction, make them the standard to which the Pauline representation is to be adjusted. However firm the foundation thus laid down in the eyes of its constructor, there will probably continue to be a certain number, even in Germany, who will consider the method of Baur on this point the more likely to yield trustworthy results.

with the development of its life and institutions, Baur could hardly fail to seize upon the same conspicuous point of departure as Marcion, the great Gnostic Paulinist of the first half of the second century. The key to all was Paul's story of his resistance to Peter.

Marcion was an anti-Semite. Born and brought up in the great Pauline mission-field of Asia Minor he conceived Christianity as might have been expected from a typical Greek. Paul alone, said Marcion, understood Jesus. The "Pillar-Apostles" at Jerusalem had perverted the sense of his gospel. Jesus himself was not so much a Jew as a divine theophany which had occurred in Judaea, intended to reveal to the misguided Jews that the divinity Moses had taught them to worship was a mere demiurge, an inferior being ignorant of the true God, the "Father in heaven" of Jesus. Jehovah was a god of justice, severe and unrelenting in the punishment inflicted for disobedience to the laws he had imposed on his creation. But the Father in heaven was a God of goodness, loving-kindness, grace. Through favor of his manifested Son, Jesus, human souls could escape the wrath of Jehovah, and attain to the immortality of their Redeemer. In short Judaism and Christianity were made two antagonistic religions.

Marcion naturally excluded the Old Testament from use by his churches, and substituted a canon of his own. This, the first Christian Canon, contained the Pauline Epistles minus the three Pastorals, plus an expurgated version of the Gospel of Luke. Marcion had removed from this Gospel what he regarded as the interpolations of the Pillar-Apostles, including all references to the Old Testament. It began: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar Jesus came down into Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught in their synagogue." His collection of the Pauline Epistles, likewise expurgated,

began with Galatians and its account of how Paul had at first preached the gospel divinely committed to him without hindrance from the older Apostles, but later found obstacles being thrown in his way by Judaizers, until he was obliged to go up to Jerusalem and protest, in order that the truth of the gospel might remain unto the Gentiles. Finally, at Antioch, he was compelled even to withstand Peter to his face because of his cowardice and "hypocrisy" in face of emissaries from James and the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. Here was Paulinism and Gentile Christianity with a vengeance. And it had no small acceptance in the Greek-speaking Christian world. It has been credibly estimated that Christianity lost one-half its following to Marcion and other Gnostic heretics bent on divorcing it from its Jewish affiliations and making it over in the true likeness of a Hellenistic mystery-cult of personal redemption.

At the other extreme from Marcion stood, at the same period, the Jewish-Christian sect of Ebionites, anathematizing Paul as a renegade from the Law and a traitor to the true gospel of Jesus. Salvation was of course free to all, but on condition of becoming what Jesus had been, a circumcised Jew. Down to the fifth century, in Ephiphanius' time, the Ebionites were still claiming, as they had in Paul's day at Corinth, to be "of Christ," saying "Christ was circumcised, therefore be thou circumcised. Christ kept the feasts, therefore do thou keep the feasts." [9]

Extremists of both types, Jewish and Greek, were inevitably excluded in the long run from the great mass of the Church in its forward movement. Thrown off as heretics they gravitated for a time in a separate orbit, to be lost ere long in that blackness of darkness which Jude

[9] Epiphanius, *Panar.* xxviii. See Bacon, "The Christ party in Corinth." *Expos.* VIII, 47 (Nov., 1914).

assures his readers is reserved for such wandering stars. The main mass recovered its equilibrium and kept on a middle course. Irenaeus, at the close of the second century, represented this final equilibrium. His very name indicates, as Eusebius reminds us, his predestined function of " peacemaker " among the parties inside the Church, intolerant opponent as he is of all outside. Christianity had by this time balanced accounts with claimants from Judaism and the Gentile world alike. Rome had taken the place of Ephesus as spiritual heir of East and West. It regarded itself as trustee of both Peter and Paul, supreme arbiter of the faith since the dispersion in 135 of the Church of the Apostles, elders, and kindred of the Lord in Jerusalem. The remaining history of the new religion is a process of consolidation and development from within. Such was the broader nexus of historical development within which Baur sought an explanatory background for the writings of the New Testament.

As a historical critic Baur was bent on bringing the literature of the growing religion into proper relation to the movement of its life, and thus exhibiting its true significance and values. In view of the outstanding facts as just outlined, what could be more natural than to say: This literature is a product of the nascent faith in the period of its emergence from Jewish particularism into its ultimate form of universalism. Those who, like Paul, perceived its broader destiny would inevitably encounter opposition at the hands of fellow-Christians less able to appreciate its larger implications, or more conservatively inclined; and from this opposition would result (unless the two were mutually destructive) a higher unity. The adaptable elements on both sides would be combined in the most workable and comprehensive common interpretation. This was Baur's scheme of the literary development. From the point of view of

mechanics it might be called a theory of the resultant force, an invariable outcome of the opposition of two bodies moving toward one another, but not in exactly the same line, or if so, not with exactly balanced power. In the Hegelian philosophy of history, which is said to have influenced Baur, it is called the theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

It would be superfluous for me to repeat the common remark how little now remains of Baur's application of his famous theory to New Testament literature. No one, of course, denies a development of Christianity in its process of self-emancipation from the particularism of the older Apostles to the universalism of Paul. The struggle was real, but the Tübingen critics extended it too far down in time. They misunderstood its complexity, they misinterpreted the writings in their efforts to discover the particular "tendency" which should determine their place in it. Mark may in a sense be Petro-Pauline, but certainly not in Baur's sense; and it is not the latest, but the earliest of the Synoptic writings. Revelation is not the earliest book of the New Testament. In its present form it is one of the latest, and far from anti-Pauline. The Johannine literature may indeed represent that "higher synthesis" of which Baur wrote, but the date he gave it was two full generations too late. All this must be admitted. But the admission need detract but little from Baur's just claim to be the founder of constructive criticism; for he had taught all genuine students of the New Testament that the literature is but the mask of the enlarging life.

We may be pardoned, then, a moment's digression to the criticism of a hundred years ago. Our subject of study is a kind of collective psychology of religion in historical manifestation. Baur has taught us fearlessly to apply to its material the methods of historico-critical analysis, and to apply them with a definite purpose in

view; the purpose of tracing the movement of the greatest spiritual impulse ever imparted to the human race. Larger light is available now than in Baur's time on the conditions and movements of religious thought, both Jewish and Hellenistic, in the Empire. It should enable us to make better application than he made of a principle which, if stated in somewhat different terms from Baur's, remains profoundly true. It offers, as I believe, a valid coördinating scheme to the critic. The statement of that principle I must leave to a subsequent occasion. You have already divined that it concerns the impulse of religious life which assumes so different a shape in its transition from Jesus to Paul. Meantime let me sum up. The successive phases of the literature as it reaches us are three: the literature of the Apostle; the literature of the teacher, and of the prophet; the literature of the theologian. But as the Ephesian evangelist teaches us, the manifested life is one: even that which was from the beginning with the Father. He that sees it bears witness, that all men may share his fellowship with the Father, and with His Son, Jesus Christ. A true answer to this Johannine utterance is made by the great Jewish philosopher of post-reformation times. "It is not absolutely necessary," says Spinoza, "to know Christ after the flesh, but we must think very differently of that eternal Son of God, I mean the eternal Wisdom of God, which has manifested itself in all things, and chiefly in the human mind, and most of all in Jesus Christ." [10]

[10] Spinoza, *Op.* i, 510, Ep. to Oldenburg.

LECTURE II

BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH OF THE GOSPEL OF RECONCILIATION

1. *Movement of Israel's Religious Development from Nationalism to Universalism*

From the view-point of the historian of religion the Christian era should begin with the 25th of December, 165 B. C. On that date the worship of Jehovah was restored in the temple at Jerusalem purified from heathen defilement, and God began to make all things new. The heroic sons of Mattathias who had won back both religious freedom and national independence founded a native dynasty of priest kings, and with the beginning of the new epoch religion too advanced with mighty strides. Prophecy took on the new form of apocalypse. Its goal was no longer a kingdom of this world but a cosmic deliverance. Its conflict was no longer against flesh and blood, but against principalities, powers, world-rulers of darkness in heavenly places. Israel's enemy was no longer the alien oppressor, but the invisible foes of humanity, the powers of Sin and Death.

Next to apocalyptic prophecy among the factors of the new religious age stands legalism. It had been an uprising of the people which saved the religion of Jehovah when the priesthood proved largely faithless. It was now the people's place of worship, the Synagogue, an institution unknown to the Law, which began rapidly to eclipse the prescribed and official worship of

the temple in the real religious life of the nation. And with the Synagogue came the scribe, the interpreter of Scripture, and the Pharisee, its faithful devotee, who seeks to attain the national hope by faith and obedience. The later Maccabees became selfish and degenerate time-servers. The Pharisees proved by hundreds of martyrdoms the sincerity of their devotion to the ideals advanced during the war of liberation: Not conquest, but freedom to worship God.

The book-religion of scribe and Pharisee strains every nerve to attain for the nation reconciliation of Jehovah's favor. For the individual it seeks "a share in the world to come," that "resurrection of the just" which now for the first time began to play a part, soon to become the controlling part in Jewish piety. This was the contribution of apocalypse.

But side by side with apocalypse and legalism there comes into view a third development of other import. This same new age of Judaism sees the rise and culmination of the Wisdom literature, re-interpreting the religion of Jehovah in terms of ethics and philosophy. This type of thought flourished chiefly in Alexandria, and culminated in the Logos-doctrine of Philo, the earlier contemporary of Jesus. A Wisdom fragment preserved in the Gospels presents these three great agents of Jehovah's new-creative Spirit as "prophets, wise men, and scribes."

Thus while Gentile religions crumbled, or turned back toward nature-worship, Judaism advanced; though showing itself anything but impervious to the currents of thought and life around it. Outward expansion went hand in hand with inward renewal. It was growth promoted not only under pressure of adverse circumstance, but also under stimulus of contemporary Gentile thought.

However contrary to our inherited ideas, evidence is

not lacking of rapid evolution even in that supreme expression of Israel's religious genius of which Jesus became the leader and representative. Not only was there a great advance from the baptism of John to the preaching of Jesus, the Gospels themselves, little as they are disposed to admit a process of development, do not conceal the fact that Jesus himself increased in wisdom as in stature, and that his faith was both broadened and deepened by the things which he experienced and suffered. The humble, expectant faith of a heathen woman could open to him new vistas of the comprehensiveness of his calling, as he sought refuge from the hostility of his own people in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And this was not the only incident of Gentile faith to lead him to broader views. Contrasts such as that of the believing centurion with Jewish unbelief could make him warn the Galilean cities that Tyre and Sidon, Nineveh and Sodom, would meet a better fate than they in the judgment. So he said to Jerusalem also: "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

If rejection in Galilee led Jesus to a broader view of his mission, the more disastrous rejection in Jerusalem led to a deeper and higher. When he set his face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem, accompanied by a mere handful out of the great multitudes that had eaten of the loaves and then withdrawn, it was with a clear premonition of his fate. He could not but foresee that if he had failed to carry with him the adherents of the Synagogue in Galilee, his attempt to take the temple out of the hands of the hierocracy, and make it a house of prayer for all the people, might have no better result. And the penalty of failure would be death. He spoke plainly to those whom he invited to join with him in this forlorn hope, of what was involved in the

issue. If he carried the people with him it meant that judgment would begin at the house of God. The step would have been taken which according to Malachi was the supreme act of national purification in preparation for Jehovah's coming. The King's palace would be purged and ready for His dwelling among a repentant and loyal people. If he did not, his cause would not survive another Passover.[1]

There is nothing improbable in the representation of the Gospels that it was at the time when Jesus laid before the Twelve his purpose to carry the campaign for the reign of God to the central sanctuary that the question was first raised as to the real nature of his mission. He certainly had neither the desire nor the intention to be a political Messiah. Of that the story of Peter's Rebuke leaves no doubt. On the other hand direct action such as he now proposed meant the assumption of national leadership in a sense beyond that of mere prophet and teacher. And failure, such as was only too probable, meant that the kingdom, if realized at all, must come by the intervention of God. The alternative is expressed in the titles Son of David — Son of Man. Critics who reject the views of the fashionable "eschatological school" consider that

[1] The driving out of the traders from the temple was a coup d'état, the carefully planned climax of Jesus' career, by which he at once symbolized the significance of his mission and staked his all upon the event. The significance then attaching to the act will be apparent from a Jewish interpretation in parable of the Isaian figure of Israel as the forsaken wife. (*Ex. Rabba*, c. 51.) It is a comment on the name "tent of witness" applied in Exodus to the Tabernacle: "A king was angry with his wife and forsook her. The neighbors declared, 'He will not return.' Then the king sent word to her (Mal. 1: 6–14; 3: 1–12): 'Cleanse my palace, and on such and such a day I will return to thee.' He came and was reconciled to her. Therefore is the sanctuary called the 'tent of witness.' It is a witness to the Gentiles that God is no longer wroth." To Jesus the restoration of his Father's house as "a house of prayer" was a token of national repentance and divine "reconciliation."

Jesus was no more carried off his feet by apocalyptic messianism than by the nationalism of the Zealots. He used the term Son of Man, as he used that of "the Christ" with his own reserves. But he could scarcely avoid using it on such an occasion as this at Cæsarea Philippi.

The author of Hebrews tells us that Jesus "learned by the things that he suffered." For my own part I cannot see how it is possible to deny the evidences of development in his message as the Synoptists report it. There is an unceasing process of action and reaction between the urge of the splendid ideal, and the pressure of stern reality. He finds victory in defeat. Disappointment in his case only lends wings to faith, so that the unbelief of Galilee gives but the greater scope and the deeper intensity to his self-dedication. The catastrophe in Jerusalem was more disastrous. It left him not only deserted by every follower, but betrayed to a felon's death. Yet faith was victorious. Not, however, by following his own way, but the way of his Father's leading. The Eschatological school of interpreters, who make apocalypse the one key to all problems of Jesus' career, are very likely right in maintaining that Jesus went up to Jerusalem in the conviction that if he did not carry Israel with him God himself would visibly intervene. If so, that was one of the phases of Jesus' faith that had to be transcended. And there is good reason to believe that it was transcended; not only later, by the faith of a Church disappointed in its cruder expectations, but by the faith of Jesus himself. Of this we have more than one intimation in the so-called Second Source. At present I will refer to one only.

The demand of a sign from heaven is addressed to Jesus by certain scribes who had come down from Jerusalem to destroy his work in Galilee and drive him

into exile. He meets it with the declaration, "If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the divine sovereignty hath overtaken you unaware." This appeal to a present reign of God is something more than apocalyptic eschatology. The reign of God, Jesus maintains, is not to be forecast with horoscope or observation, "neither shall they say, Lo, here; or Lo, there. For the reign of God is within you"— or, if you prefer so to render it, "among you." The implication of the saying is that God is already at work. The overthrow of Satan is already begun. The kingdom is potentially present. If, then, Jesus failed in his endeavor to make ready for Jehovah in Galilee a people prepared for His coming, if the work of the second Elijah taken up by him did not issue in the reconciliation of God with His people, still his faith would not break down. The mustard seed was sown. The leaven was working. The good grain was cast into the earth.

We can hardly do justice to the records and not admit that Jesus, like other prophets, did foreshorten the time. The day of harvest and the sending forth of the reapers was more distant than he thought. But his faith laid hold not of horoscopes and forecasts, but of the present, unseen power of God. It had a deeper root than the visions of apocalypse. It saw God's reign to be present as well as future, imminent as well as transcendent. Disappointment as to the mode and time would have left Jesus as it left the Church still saying, "Nevertheless the Kingdom of God *is* come nigh." [2]

Still more certainly may we reason on analogous lines for the movement of Jesus' faith in the face of

[2] Mk. 3: 22–27 and parallels. For some excellent remarks on Jesus' superiority to apocalyptic eschatology as such see the chapter on "The Historical Jesus" by Canon Streeter in *Foundations*.

rejection, desertion, and betrayal to death, in Jerusalem. He did not have superhuman foresight, but he did have insight. And he had the kind of faith in God which cries out with martyred Job, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in him." If he had not, would the frightened, scattered handful of disciples who forsook him and fled in the last calamitous night ever have rallied again? So the faith of Jesus in his calling and his message was not cast down in the face of disaster, and assuredly it did not stand still. Like the faith of his people, disappointment only led it to higher forms. If what seemed to be the cause of God went down without His aid, then it did not follow that there is no cause of God to invite man's self-devotion, but only that man has not yet conceived it on the scale of its true grandeur. Therefore it is that in that same night in which he was betrayed Jesus instead of receding advanced. Instead of qualifying or explaining former promises, he made his very martyrdom subserve the end. He took bread as he was eating with his disciples, and when he had blessed he brake it and said, "This is my body that is given for you." And in like manner the cup, saying, "This is my blood that is shed for many, do this in remembrance of me." The people's faith that martyrdoms also advance the cause of God, a faith that flamed high in the heroic days of the Maccabees, had not been wholly stifled by legalism.[3]

The supreme problem in the history of our religion is how it could change so profoundly in the brief space that can be allowed between the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom by Jesus in Galilee, and the gospel that Paul referred to in First Corinthians as received by

[3] Note the fact that the names of Jesus' predecessor, of his brothers, and of his closest disciples, are those of the Maccabean heroes, Judas, Simon, John. The resurrection hero of Maccabean times, Eleazar, the Arnold Winkelried and John Huss of Jewish Martyrology, becomes the "Lazarus" of the Gospels.

him in the beginning, the redemption faith he expressly says was common to all disciples. The one is a gospel *of* Jesus, and the other a gospel *about* Jesus. The one is concerned with the kingdom of God, the other with eternal life. The one is a religion of social salvation, the other a religion of personal salvation. The one seeks the reconciliation of Jehovah to a repentant people, the other proclaims atonement for the individual soul estranged from God. There are those who can see no inward development in the faith of Jesus himself, no deepening of his insight into the work he must do for the kingdom's sake, no transfiguration of his religious ideal in reaction against the stern reality of failure and martyrdom. Therefore they lay upon Paul all responsibility for the change. Arnold Meyer puts the case for these when he says in their name, "Paul has obscured the simple gospel of Jesus." He has "made another God of him who would bring us to God, and has set him between God and ourselves." He is "responsible for a tremendous, momentous, distorting transformation of a religion in its essence purely of the heart." [4] The marvel is that Peter and Paul, when they differed so widely and outspokenly on other things, should have worked as one in this. They seem to know no difference in respect to faith in the crucified and risen Lord as the common basis of their salvation.[5] They have one Lord, of whose work of redemption they speak in terms of personal religion: "He loved *me,* and gave himself for *me.*"

We need not minimize the expansive power of universalism in the soul of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, nor the significance of his struggle to emancipate the nascent faith from the swathing bands of Jewish particularism, when we maintain that the expansive

[4] *Jesus or Paul* (Engl.), 1909, o. 3.
[5] Cf. Gal. 2: 15–16; I Cor. 15: 3, 11.

urge was felt from within as well as from without, and that Jesus, as well as Paul, experienced enlargement in his vision of the purpose of God as regards the Gentiles. Neither need we minimize the effect of the religious atmosphere of the times on the soul of Paul, to say nothing of his forms of thought and expression, if we also maintain that Jesus could feel something of the same. Not indeed because of any Gentile origin or environment, but because all religion, that of his own people as well as the outside world, was driven by the yearning for personal redemption and fellowship with God. And this was not all. Jesus had his religious agony as well as Paul. His faith had to lift itself in the face of disaster to higher and surer ground. Therefore it was not a mistake, but justice and truth, when not only Paul, but those who before him had come to the vision of the glorified Redeemer, refused after Calvary to go back to the mere gospel of Galilee, taking instead the new and larger gospel of Atonement in the blood of the Crucified, the gospel of self-dedication.

The Hegelian principle of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, applied after the Tübingen method to the apostolic age as a conflict between particularism and universalism, is not enough to explain historical Christianity. There was an earlier impulse from within under the great law of action and reaction by which all moving bodies find their equilibrium. There was the backward swing of the pendulum removed from its first support till it found a new stability. We know how in the history of Israel's faith the forward sweep of great prophetic ideals met reaction, whether from mental and spiritual inertia, or the stern logic of events; but reaction only leads to resumption of the forward movement on a higher plane. We have seen how the career of Jesus, little as we can know of its detail, responds in the main to this same mode of apprehension.

His gospel, like Paul's, is a "gospel of reconciliation"; but it has progressive phases. Jesus begins by carrying the Baptist's work to its completion. He sets out to gather the lost sheep of Israel and by his message of repentance and faith to make ready for Jehovah a people prepared for Him. Certainly it was, as Meyer says, a "religion of the heart," a message of pure religion and undefiled before God the Father, the consummation of all that the law and the prophets had taught. The parable of the Prodigal Son embodies it. But it did not win Israel. Of all that work in Galilee there remains in Acts not one trace save the mention in a geographical formula that after the conversion of Paul "the Church throughout all Judaea *and Galilee* and Samaria had rest." Driven out from Galilee Jesus took up a larger undertaking attended with far greater danger. And with it we see his message assuming a new form. It is now a message of individual life through death. It is addressed to a smaller group, and his own person becomes more central. Those that are faithful to the death will be confessed by him in the presence of his Father and the holy angels. Again there is disappointment, and still greater. His attempt at Jerusalem to win the nation to seek under his own leadership its historic ideal issued in disaster. But the movement is not arrested. Jesus seeks through his death to accomplish what he could not through his life. He becomes a leader for all who will follow through death itself into the very presence of the Father.

We have learned to isolate in our minds the gospel of Jesus from the gospel of Paul, the gospel of Jesus preached in Galilee of Israel's reconciliation with God by repentance and faith, to the realization of the kingdom and the gospel *about* Jesus preached from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, the gospel of reconciliation with God by the blood of his sacrifice, a gospel

of individual salvation and eternal life. It is well indeed to differentiate these, for they are far from identical. But when we set them as it were in antagonism, or make them mutually exclusive, are we not applying a standard which is static rather than dynamic, conceiving the mind of Jesus as if it were the system of a book rather than the growing, expansive energy of a living, conquering faith? We are now attempting to show that the religious movement we seek to understand is continuous rather than disjunctive, a movement of Jesus *and* Paul rather than an opposition and alternative of Jesus *or* Paul. Perhaps we cannot do better for this purpose than look back over the simple outline of Jesus' career as we know it from elements of the record that are beyond all rational dispute, recapitulating the story as it must have been known to Paul himself even before he became a Christian.

When Jesus took up the work of John the Baptist after the imprisonment of the great reformer, echoing the cry, "Repent, for the reign of God is at hand"; when he carried forward the work of his former leader, leaving the solitudes of the wilderness of Judea and appealing to the busy throngs of his native Galilee, we know what his feeling was toward his great predecessor. We know that he thought of John's work as "from heaven," the great "sign from heaven" of that generation. The baptism of John was to Jesus nothing less than a fulfillment of the promise of a second coming of Elijah to effect the Great Repentance of Israel, without which Jehovah's expected advent would be a curse rather than a blessing, a coming to judgment rather than for deliverance. As Elijah on Carmel had "turned the heart of the people back again" from the service of Baal to Jehovah, so Malachi had foretold that before that great and terrible day of Jehovah's coming a prophet should be raised up in the spirit and

power of Elijah, to effect a reconciliation of the people with their God by a supreme act of repentance. Probably we may take the reading which seems to be followed by Ben Sirach two centuries before this date as more authentic than that of our Massoretic text: at least it represents better what Jesus seems to take as the mind of the prophet. The second Elijah is "to pacify wrath before it break forth, to turn the heart of the Father to the children and the children to the Father," [6] lest His coming should be to smite the earth with a curse. It was because this work of preparation for the coming reign of God was given to John that Jesus thought of him as a prophet and more than a prophet, and his baptism as "from heaven and not of men." His acceptance of that baptism means his dedication of himself to the work of averting the wrath of God from his people, by turning their hearts to Him in repentance.

Consciously or not, Jesus' own work in Galilee was a continuation of that of John. As such it could not be anything else but the work of a prophet. It was a gospel of "reconciliation." Like John, Jesus, too, came preaching repentance in view of the coming Reign of God. Unlike John he went forth to gather the lost sheep of Jehovah's scattered flock, resisting the self-righteous legalism of scribes and Pharisees, befriending repentant publicans and sinners. To his own generation in Galilee he was "the prophet of Nazareth"—when it was not "John the Baptist risen from the dead." And to a later generation of his own followers, men of Jewish descent and reactionary in their religious tendencies, this activity of Jesus in Galilee was the sum and substance of his mission. To them he was, as we still find it in their literature, a prophet, and not merely "a" prophet, but "the" prophet; by which

[6] Ecclus. 48: 10.

they meant the "Prophet like unto Moses" promised in Deuteronomy, who should perpetuate the teaching of Moses and interpret it for all future time. To the Ebionite Christian of the second century there was nothing higher that could be said of the ministry of Jesus than that he fulfilled their promise of a prophet like unto Moses "raised up unto you from among your brethren." For to a Jew like Philo Moses was not merely prophet and teacher of Israel, but (as he calls him in his *Life of Moses*) "the mediator and reconciler of the world." [7]

When one reads the Sermon on the Mount and the other records of Jesus' spiritual interpretation of the Law one must admit the aptness of the comparison. Surely, if he had done nothing more than give utterance by his parables and teachings to his own simple, sublime apprehension of what God expects from man, and man may look for from his Father in heaven, Jesus would deserve the title of the Second Moses. But the Second Source is willing to leave the title of "Prophet" to John. It depicts Jesus as the "Wisdom" of God.

The cause of the prophet met defeat in Galilee. Jesus was driven into exile by the Pharisees in conspiracy with members of the court of Antipas, with the aid of "scribes who came down from Jerusalem." Chorazin and Bethsaida turned a deaf ear in spite of mighty works that would have converted Tyre and Sidon, and a warning from God weightier than that which turned Nineveh to repentance. Capernaum, exalted to heaven as the scene of the first proclamation of the gospel and the center of the work of reclamation, looked away, knowing as little the time of her visitation as later did Jerusalem. After the onslaught upon

[7] *Vita Mos.* iii, 19. Cf. *Assumptio Mos.* ix, 16. (When Moses is gone, Joshua says, Israel will fall an easy prey to their enemies, for a single provocation of God will lead to disaster, since they will have no Intercessor.)

Jesus a dispersed and discouraged remnant of the humbler class were forced to hide their loyalty to his movement, if they still cherished it. Jesus himself withdrew with a handful of followers, never again to appear openly in Galilee. Such was the end of the first phase of his ministry, his continuation of the work of John. True, the proclamation was on a higher scale than John's. It had a new note of hope and love that came upon the harsh wailings of the Baptist's cry like wedding music after a funeral dirge. Still it did not go beyond the domain of Moses and Elias. It was an effort to bring Israel into reconciliation with God by a great repentance, and a new and higher obedience. It failed through unbelief.

What might have come if Jesus' challenge to the religious control of the Synagogue leaders in Galilee had been successful is difficult to estimate. Actually, if he proposed to continue his work for the reign of God he had now only the choice of going to the Gentiles and teaching them, or of renewing the struggle for the leadership among his own people at Jerusalem, where he must wrest it out of the hands not of mere scribes and Synagogue leaders, but of the Sadducean hierocracy, the half-religious, half-political control of the priesthood in the temple.

As we all know, the story of the second period in Jesus' career begins with the raising of the question whether or no he is the Messiah, and if so, in what sense. The national leadership of the Maccabean hierocracy had its seat in the temple. This was the last refuge of Jewish autonomy, the center of all its national hopes, patriotic as well as religious, and withal it was one of the strongest fortresses in Syria, garrisoned within by an ample Levitical police under a "captain of the temple," and without by a Roman cohort. To challenge

this hierocracy in its stronghold was an undertaking that could not well fail to raise the question of authority. All the more unavoidable would it be if he who took the lead was understood to be one "of the seed of David according to the flesh"; and we know from Paul's own statement that such was the belief regarding Jesus. If his conviction that the reign of God was at hand was still strong enough for decisive action, if he now aspired to pass beyond a mere campaign of propaganda, and to become in any active sense a leader of the nation as a whole, it would involve a definite answer to the question: What of the expected Son of David? Hitherto there had been no serious mention of Messianism. Save for the senseless cry of a maniac, there had been nothing in Jesus' career of teacher and healer to call it to public notice. The Gospels tell us that he now raised the question himself. Would he now assume the mission of the Christ?

How much there was to give color of truth to the accusation which sent Jesus by Pilate's order to the cross is not easy to say. One thing we do know. Jesus protested to the utmost against any messiahship according to the things of man. His program was not political. But on the other hand it certainly was no longer merely that of prophet and teacher. It had reference now to the nation as a whole, and it began with the establishment of a new régime in the national sanctuary. An unambiguous "No," to the question of Pilate: "Art thou a king, then?" supported as it could so easily have been by convincing evidence of the religious character of Jesus' work, might well have spared him the cross. But he did not give it. His answer was silence, or the ambiguous "Thou sayest." He was a son of David, and he had at least as much of the sense of obligation

to achieve, so far as in him lay, the destiny of his people, as characterized others, such as Hillel, who could point to a similar pedigree.

The anticipations of a fatal issue carry their own hint of the nature of the enterprise now undertaken. When Jesus set his face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem at the approaching Passover, with a warning to the handful that still followed him that it might mean death to him and them, he was not thinking of such dangers as they had already encountered. There is great latitude of teaching in Judaism, and always has been. The threat came from a different quarter. If in the warning the very mode of death, crucifixion, was mentioned, that would make it certain that the fate which Jesus apprehended was that of an insurrectionist against the Roman power. There could then be no doubt that the nature of his undertaking was akin to messianism to say the least. But the precise language of the warning must remain uncertain. The fact we may be sure of. And even were this denied, it is certain that Jesus did dispute the leadership of the hierocracy in the temple itself; that he was, for a few brief days, supported by the fickle enthusiasm of the people; and that he then succumbed to an intrigue of the priests in collusion with the Roman procurator. He did, then, assume the leadership in an effort to realize the messianic hope. And for the second time he failed because of unbelief.

Two possibilities opened before Jesus at Caesarea Philippi as he made the decision to go up to Jerusalem to confront life or death. It was possible that he might succeed. Had it not seemed so to the Twelve they would not have followed him. That it actually was possible is proved by the event; for the movement was sufficiently formidable on purely political grounds to lead the Roman governor, impervious as he surely was

to all merely religious considerations, to send the high-minded Teacher to the cross. That it seriously threatened the control of the Sanhedrin is manifest both from their mortal hatred of the agitator, and from their fear of the people, a fear which for days left the question of his control or theirs hanging in the balance.

Just consider the practical wisdom of Jesus' plan. To confine the issue to the temple and its interests, avoiding civil affairs and questions of governmental authority, might secure immunity from Roman intervention. Pilate would not find such a national leader as this Son of David more obnoxious to Roman suzerainty than scheming high priests or ambitious Herodians. If in addition Zealot nationalism could be kept within bounds, and the hostility of Pharisees and scribes disarmed by the obvious purity and high motive of the Leader, it was not inconceivable that he should succeed. A reformation which began at the house of God offered the one chance of success. In point of fact for the time being Jesus did succeed. He was welcomed by the multitude with shouts for the coming kingdom of David. He did take control of the temple, freeing it from abuses, and making it a place of pure worship such as Malachi had demanded as the condition of Jehovah's presence. The catastrophe which followed this religious coup d'état was not a foregone conclusion at Caesarea Philippi, however inevitable it was that the Church should later so regard it.

On the other hand there was an ominous alternative, of which, as we have seen, Jesus made no concealment from his followers. It was quite possible that all might suffer together the fate of insurrectionists. If Jesus failed of national acceptance and God did not intervene with superhuman aid they could only save their lives by losing them. Failure did not mean that the kingdom would not come. On the contrary, this very generation

would surely see it. But only the power of God would bring it. It would have to be given as the prophet Daniel had seen it in vision, to one like unto a son of man, brought on the clouds of heaven to receive it before the judgment throne of the Ancient of Days. Therefore Jesus added to his assurance of the certainty of its coming the further, personal promise to every loyal follower, that those who should fearlessly confess him on earth, defying death, he also would acknowledge in the presence of his Father before the holy angels. The promise is recalled a full generation after in one of the most ancient hymns of the Church:

> If we die with him we shall also live with him:
> If we endure we shall also reign with him:
> If we shall deny him he also will deny us:
> If we are faithless, he abideth faithful;
> For he cannot deny himself.[8]

What would have been the consequence if Jesus' appeal to Jerusalem had succeeded? Paul and the fourth evangelist make very clear what the result would have been so far as concerns the expansive forces of the faith, if I may call them so. The gospel would have remained primarily the affair of the Jewish people. In all the domain of the might-have-beens surely there is no better founded statement than Paul's, that the rejection and death of the Messiah at the hands of his own people was unavoidable in the providential ordering of the world, if the ancient middle wall of partition was to be broken down, and the Gentiles were to be made fellow-heirs of the promise with the election of God. The cross does mark the transition from particularism to universalism. The fourth evangelist depicts the great decision under the form of a delegation of Gentiles waiting upon Jesus just before the catastrophe, and receiving as their only

[8] II Tim. 2: 11–13.

reply from him: "The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified. He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. Now is the Prince of this world cast out, and I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." This scene, ideal as it may be, does not exaggerate the significance of what the evangelist calls "the crisis of this world." The religious unity of the race was sealed, as Paul well says, in the blood of Christ. God did reconcile Jew and Gentile in one body through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby.[9] But we are not speaking now of what may be called the extensive, but of the intensive movement of the faith. What was the consequence to Jesus' own faith of the bitter disappointment of his hope, of the frustration of all the toil, the prayers, the tears that he had given to the winning of his people to their own national ideal and the fulfillment of the promise of God so near attainment?

The answer to our question cannot be given without the story of the night of final parting and the supreme parable in which Jesus embodied the last and loftiest teaching of all. From the time when he had taken up the message of the Baptist his one effort had been to prepare for the reign of God by bringing Israel through repentance and faith into "reconciliation" with its Father in Heaven. As prophet and teacher in Galilee he had failed. Out of defeat he snatched victory. He made the cause national by his appeal as Son of David and Son of Man in Jerusalem. Again he had failed. There was but one thing more he could do for the "reconciliation." He could dedicate his body and blood as an atonement offering for the forgiveness of sin, that God might be reconciled to his people.

I am well aware that there is little or nothing in

[9] Jn. 12: 20–36; cf. Eph. 2: 13–22.

Jesus' earlier teaching that is akin to this priestly gospel of atonement, or "reconciliation," καταλλαγή, as Paul calls it. It is the very point of what I am saying that it was a *new* development, something which would never have come but through the agony of a disappointed hope, the agony renewed in Gethsemane. But it does mark the forward leap of a faith that conquers even death, the impulse onward and upward of one who could learn by the things which he suffered. The last supper was a renewal of the assurance of meeting again in the kingdom. In the face of disastrous earthly defeat, desertion, death, it was a reiteration of the promise: Him that confesseth me before men will I also confess before my Father and the holy angels. It was a pledge to meet again at the banquet table of the new Jerusalem, for the reign of God was not defeated. But there was more in it than that. There remained still a work to be done by him whose mission had been from the beginning to turn away wrath by reconciling the children to the Father and the Father to the children. Jewish martyrology of Jesus' time tells of a Maccabean hero who dedicates his life-blood on his people's behalf, praying, "Thou knowest, O God, that when safety was offered me I chose to die in fiery torments for the sake of the Law. Be propitious (ἱλέως γένου) to thy people, let the punishment suffice thee which we endure on their behalf; make my blood an expiation (καθάρσιον) for them, and take my life as a ransom (ἀντίψυχον) for theirs." [10] It is in the same spirit that Jesus also dedicates his body and blood, for the forgiveness of the people's sin, and promises intercession on their behalf in the presence of the Father.

I know that the words of institution of the Sacrament

[10] IV Macc. 6: 27–29; cf. Ignatius *ad Eph.* viii, 1, and xxi, 1: ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγώ.

stand practically alone in Gospel narrative to support that conception of Jesus' work which is the very heart of the gospel of Paul. One can go further still. The latest of the Synoptic evangelists, if we follow the most authentic text, obliterates even what little we find in Mark of this gospel of atonement. In the entire double work of Luke you will find but one intimation that the death of Jesus has anything to do with the forgiveness of sin. It is the reference in Paul's speech before the elders of the Ephesian church at Miletus to the Church as "bought with blood." That is a vestigial remnant of Paul rather than a teaching of Luke. Luke's teaching is not evangelic but apologetic. He is never tired of pointing to the prediction by the prophets of the suffering of Christ; but only to prove that such was the determinate foreknowledge and counsel of God, never as having any relation to the forgiveness of sin. Those who cannot realize that these Synoptic records as they stand represent a reaction from the Pauline gospel of grace toward the neo-legalism of the Christianized Synagogue, go as far astray in one direction as those who leave no room for the advance of Jesus' thought beyond the stage of his work in Galilee in the other. Both would persuade us that this idea of the atonement-offering represents a Pauline innovation, an interpretation of his own placed on Jesus' words. But somehow we have got to account for the fact that after this not Paul only but every Christian looks upon Jesus as his intercessor with God, and never offers a prayer without expecting to be heard "for Jesus' sake." Jesus is not only the Advocate who confesses before His Father the name of those who had confessed him on earth, but Intercessor and Mediator with the Judge of all. He is One who had been "raised again for our justification." It is not easy to regard as "innovation" what Paul de-

clares to be the essential thing committed to every ambassador of Christ,[11] that which forms the heart of the message in Revelation, in Hebrews, in First Peter, as well as in Paul, to say nothing of Clement and the later writers.

I do not say that the thought of Jesus in his farewell utterance to the faithful Twelve was identical with that which I have quoted from the martyr's prayer in Fourth Maccabees, but I do say with Arnold Meyer, "The belief in propitiation by means of blood dominated the whole Jewish and Gentile world."[12] True, purification by the blood of bulls and goats had long since been recognized in Judaism as symbolic only, a divinely provided substitute for that offering of the firstborn for one's transgression, the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul, which the religious instinct at first suggests. Since Ezekiel's time there had been strong reaction against the Isaian doctrine of vicarious suffering. It appears in the growing protest of legalism against the idea of national or family solidarity. But this ethical reaction has never obliterated from the instinctive religion of the ordinary man, not even in Judaism, the belief in the efficacy of voluntary martyrdom to win back the favor of a justly offended God. You cannot easily eradicate from the mind of the common soldier (and perhaps you ought not) the conviction that the dying prayer of a good comrade who freely laid down a pure life for God and country availeth much, and (if he looks for a life to come) the belief that such a comrade is a friend worth having, even at the court of God. The songs of the suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah

[11] II Cor. 5: 20.

[12] *Jesus or Paul*, Engl., p. 52. For a sympathetic interpretation of the feeling of antiquity see Gilbert Murray, "The Essence of Christianity" in *The R. P. Q. Annual*, 1918, p. 14. Marduk the Redeemer-god is "the Faithful Son" who gives his life for his people, facing death, to atone for the sins of others.

give sublimest expression to this belief as the poet's message to the "crucified nation" of the ancient world. Legalistic Judaism obscured, but did not eradicate this faith. In the Jewish as in the Gentile world men continued to believe in a personal God who is moved by the intercession of those who have died for His sake, and for the hope of the nation.[13] In the Aramaic Targum on the famous fifth verse of that song of the Suffering Servant, where it is declared that he is wounded for our transgression, to achieve our peace, the translator renders: "He will intercede for our sins and transgressions, and for His sake they will be forgiven." For this he is "exalted and made very high." The author of the Maccabean martyrology from which I have already quoted goes further still. He believes with Paul that those whose lives were thus given are "raised for our justification," and that immediately. With the author of the Revelation he conceives of them as pleading for Israel from underneath the altar of God's presence. Resting upon a passage from the Blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy he declares that "because of their heroic endurance they already stand before the throne of God and are even now living the blessed life. As Moses said, 'All thy sanctified ones are underneath thy hands,' so these too, having been sanctified on God's account (i. e., having dedicated themselves in His cause), were honored not with this reward alone (i. e., the special 'first resurrection') but also with victory of their people over the enemy, punishment of the tyrant, and purification (*καθαρισμός*) of their fatherland; so that they became a redemption (*ἀντίψυχον*) for the sin of the nation."

[13] Cf. *Eth. Enoch.* XLVII, 1, 2, on the reconciliation of God by blood and intercession of martyrs, and on Jewish belief as a whole. Oesterley, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation*, 1910. On the interpretation of Is. 53, Dalman *Jesaia* 53, 1914, and *Der Leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge*, 1888. The fundamental work is Neubauer and Driver, *Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah LIII*, 1877.

Fortunately for the deepest, truest message of Christianity to the world it is impossible to dissociate from the farewell parable of Jesus its fundamental significance as a covenant in the blood of the Christ. The Sacrament has many meanings, but deepest of all is that of the self-dedication of Jesus, accompanied by a promise that he would carry the cause of his loyal ones into the very presence of the Father. Thus he would make intercession for them with his blood. This is not later innovation. This is "from the Lord." Every other word of the New Testament might be undermined or discarded, but this would remain unshaken as long as one believer remained to do this in remembrance of him, and to tell the story of the Lord's death until he come. I admit that it is a new teaching not heard in Galilee. It is not the utterance of a prophet. The work of the prophet and teacher had failed. It is not the utterance of the Messianic leader.[14] The work of the national leader had also failed. It marks a new phase in the ministry on a new and higher stage. It is the utterance of the dedicated priest and intercessor with God. The last office which Jesus' loyalty to the cause of the kingdom compels him to take is one that no man taketh upon himself but when he is called of God. It was an unforeseen consequence of Jesus' attempt to take the temple out of the control of a corrupt and unworthy priesthood, and make it again his Father's house. The Temple and its priesthood disappeared, but in three days another and a greater temple took its place. Through the very agony of his defeat Jesus himself was "made a highpriest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

[14] Dalman (*ubi supra*) has produced abundant evidence that Is. 53 was interpreted in some quarters as applying to the Messiah. The Targum on the prophets so interprets it, and the early Church did so. But there is no sufficient evidence that Jesus did, and the Twelve clearly did not.

It was not my purpose in making this retrospect of the progressive phases of Jesus' "gospel of reconciliation" to plead for higher valuation of the epistolary literature of the great missionary age of the Church, as sources much more ancient and authentic than the Synoptic Gospels. Earliest of all the records, in fact coeval with the utterance of the Master is the Sacrament itself. But it was not my purpose here to plead for the prior record. Still less was it my purpose to defend any of the mediæval caricatures of Jesus' parting "covenant of blood" which go by the name of "theories of the atonement." The exegete has no parti pris in matters of doctrine. My object was purely historical. The attempt was simply to show that the relation of Jesus and Paul is not a static parallelism or opposition, but dynamic. The sweep of that great tide of faith in God which made the religion that we own was driven by no earth-born power. The impulse was "from heaven." Jesus took over its leadership and interpretation from one who was a prophet indeed, and more than a prophet. He carried it to a higher, and yet higher level. Not in obedience to his own design, but as confessedly and consciously acting for God, and constantly walking by faith and not by sight. The leadership of prophet gives way perforce to that of Messiah and Son of Man, and this again gives way, because God willed it so. God, who controls both outward event and inward prompting, God, I say, sent defeat; and sent also the eternal, unseen power that surges through generations of longing, aspiring human hearts winning them to the Father. The leadership of a national Christ, yes, even of a universalized Son of Man, gave way. It was not this ideal that won the homage of the world, but that of a priest-king of all humanity.

There is no standing still in the career of Jesus. His last and greatest defeat is the signal for an advance that

carries him to the final goal of human religious need. When he parts from the Twelve it is not to leave them downcast, but as men that stand gazing up into Heaven, beholding there, as Stephen did, their Advocate with God. Is it any wonder that when their faith returns it is to recognize him in the breaking of the bread; and not as a mere ghost, not as a mortal returned again to earth, but as "one that liveth and was dead and behold he is alive for evermore, and hath the keys of death and hell." Paul's gospel does not indeed go back to Galilee. But would you expect it to? The gospel of Jesus had moved forward since then, to become what Paul preaches, a gospel of personal redemption, a "gospel of the Reconciliation, how that God by the agency of Christ was restoring a guilty world to His favor,[15] not imputing unto men their trespasses."

[15] Only a historical study of the word "reconcile" (καταλλάσσειν), especially of its occurrence in Jewish literature of Paul's time and later (in the religious sense it does not occur before the Maccabean period), will dispel the false impression made by modern renderings of the passage above quoted. As Thayer's Lexicon makes unmistakably clear, it does not mean merely "dispel enmity," as if it were a hostile feeling on the world's part which required to be removed; but "restore to favor," and the succeeding clause "not imputing to men their trespasses" shows that such is here the sense. God, through the agency of Christ, was restoring an unworthy world to His favor.

LECTURE III

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE GOSPEL

1. *The Apostleship not from Man*

The preceding lecture was really an attempt to take position at the vantage point of Paul, and look back (though with other eyes than his) at the career of Jesus, then unrecorded save for the ordinance of the memorial Supper and the answering rite of self-dedication by baptism into his name. To-day we ask how it comes to pass that Paul's view is so different from ours. He continues Jesus' work; but admittedly it is a transfigured gospel.

We have seen that even before Jesus took up the interrupted work of John the Baptist the movement could properly be called a "gospel of reconciliation," though of course in a quite different sense from Paul's. It was a national movement — a movement in the spirit and power of Elijah to "turn the heart of Israel back again." By repentance and faith the children would be turned to the Father, and the Father to the children. God's anger, so manifest in the evil case of his people, would be appeased before it brake forth into wrath, and the long-awaited forgiveness and salvation would appear. As the author of the Second Source puts it, John came "bringing a way of justification" which the publicans and harlots entered by repentance and faith, though the Pharisees held aloof.[1] That which began

[1] See the article "John as Preacher of Justification by Faith" in *Expositor* VIII, 93 (Sept., 1918).

as a national movement became more and more individual. By force of adverse circumstance, or, if you choose to put it so, by the providence of God, Jesus' direction of this upheaval of reawakened prophecy was forced more and more into channels of individual and personal religion. With his death it transcended the limits of mortality as it had previously transcended those of mere nationality. In the end the supreme expression of his gospel became the symbolic utterance of the Sacrament. Having loved his own he loved them to the end, and made the fate he would not seek to escape a ground of appeal to God on their behalf. Baptism, adopted almost at once by his followers upon the reawakening of their faith, was an answering self-dedication in penitent loyalty to the risen Lord.

Thus Christianity, as Saul the persecutor first came in contact with it, was more than a reform. It was almost a new religion. Saul, at least, refused to recognize it as any longer within the pale of Judaism, and priests and scribes agreed with him. This new religion found expression for its essential meaning in its two observances, and as yet had found no other utterance. It was a gospel of "grace," the renewed "favor" of God obtained by the martyrdom and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ. What the law had not been able to do through all the long struggle of Synagogue leaders with popular frailty had (in Christian belief) been at last accomplished. God had been reconciled to a penitent, believing people. The proof of it was already patent in Jesus' time. Together with his message of forgiveness to the penitent had come the power of God to heal. The inquirers from John could report what they had seen and heard. In view of these "powers" of the Spirit Jesus could denounce the opposition of the scribes as impious and declare the Kingdom potentially already begun. Even greater works followed the

resurrection. The Spirit of adoption moved the votaries of the Crucified to cry, "Abba, Father," in manifestations which were taken as the fulfillment of the promise of the "outpouring of the Spirit in the last days." There had been progress, therefore, from the Baptism of John to the Baptism of the Spirit. There had been both intensification of the message and change in its nature; and the new brotherhood would have been the last to deny it. They rather gloried in it. The water of the Jews' manner of purifying had been changed into wine.

The change was analogous to that which came over prophecy with the extinction of the national political life. Apocalypse is prophecy universalized and transcendentalized. It is also individualized. With the death of Jesus something similar was seen to have taken place in his gospel. Defeated on earth it had taken refuge in heaven. Rejected as a program for the nation, it had become universal, offering an ideal for the individual lost son, were he Jew or Gentile. The gospel was transfigured. Old things were passed away; behold all had become new.

We have to-day a group of religious leaders in whom the prophetic, ethical motive predominates over the mystical and sacerdotal. These raise the cry: "We have had too much of Paul, too much of individual salvation. Social salvation is the need of our times. Back to Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount!" Another group follow the opposite tendency, denying the very existence of a historical Jesus, and assuring us that all the religious values of Christianity are to be found in the idea of the dying and rising Redeemer-God common to the mystery religions of the time. The latter tendency curiously recalls the teaching of Marcion, Cerinthus, and the Docetic Gnostics. These found no

difficulty with a Christ-emanation assuming temporary embodiment in Jesus (or indeed any other avatar). Individual fellowship with this divine Being insured immortality. What they could not tolerate was a real, flesh and blood Leader, a High priest and King of humanity. But surely the mythical interpretation of the gospel record has little to contribute to the science of religion. Science of any kind must deal with objective historic fact. The larger its basis in concrete reality the better. A science of mythology is possible; but a record of life in real moral union with the Father in Heaven is a better basis for the scientific student of religion, as well as for the convert.

What primitive Christianity rejoiced in as an accomplished fact was "access for Jew and Gentile in one new Spirit unto the common Father." That consciousness and its basis of historic fact should be the province of our study. But present-day enquiry seems largely taken up with reaction against what is termed the "theologizing" gospel of Paul, resenting his emphasis upon personal redemption and the life of the individual soul "in God." The cry is: "Back to Galilee, with its simple ethics of brotherhood, and its social goal of a commonwealth of humanity."

We have many brilliant scholars (I have already mentioned Arnold Meyer of Zürich, and might now add the lamented William Wrede)[2] in whose view the new faith incurred a loss that quite outweighed the gain when it secured as its chief interpreter to the Greek-speaking world Saul of Tarsus, the converted scribe and sanhedrist. Back to Jesus, is the cry. Back to the simple doctrine of the Prophet of Nazareth. Genuine Christianity is the monotheistic humanitarianism of the prophets stripped of its temporal and racial limitations.

[2] See also H. Mackintosh, *Natural History of the Christian Religion.* 1894.

Well, so it is; stripped not by academic analysis, but by the mightier logic of events and the movement of world history; or rather reclothed in new and higher forms. Prophecy was universalized in Apocalypse, and Apocalypse was stripped of its temporal and racial limitations by the progress of events. When the expected cataclysm failed to materialize the Hellenizing interpretation of the Johannine eschatology took its place in the Church. Back to Jesus? Yes. But Jesus did not stand still. He was a Prophet in Galilee. He was a Son of David and Son of Man in the appeal to Jerusalem. He was a Mediator and Intercessor with God when he passed within the veil of the temple not built with hands. Paul is our earliest witness, and Paul has already determined to know no Christ save a Christ not after the flesh. Had he done otherwise Christianity would not have survived his generation. If it be a question of words and names and book authority, and our alternative is to swear either by the words of the Master or those of the disciple, then by all means let us take those of the Master — if we can be sure of them. But if our teacher is to be the eternal Logos of God, who leads into all truth,— if it is the Creator Spiritus of the cosmos of soul-life who is to take of the things of Christ and interpret them to us, then we shall need to take a leaf from the book of Paul and of the great Ephesian evangelist, learning to look at things "from the point of view of the Eternal." Then, perhaps, we may recognize the directing, controlling guidance of a Power that works in and through and above the currents of man's religious instinct, and most of all in the person of its supreme leaders such as Jesus and Paul. To the martyr Ignatius that Logos of God was an inward voice crying: "Come to the Father." To Augustine it proclaimed the same message. To Jesus and Paul alike it was, as we have seen, above and beyond all else an

appeal to lost sons, "Be ye reconciled to God." But Jesus and Paul do not claim to speak for themselves. We learn most from them when we take action and utterance alike as expressions of the divine purpose to which they were dedicated in every power. The Christ whom Paul preaches is great only as the agent of God, and Paul asks no more for himself than to be accepted as the dedicated agent of this agent. The Christ of the fourth evangelist sums it up in the cry of Jesus as he leaves his public ministry: "He that believeth in me believeth not in me, but in Him that sent me."

I have tried to indicate something of the movement of this religious tendency impelling men from within toward the Father in Heaven, guided from without by the discipline of circumstance. I have tried to view it from the standpoint of the historian of religion, surveying that greatest of all periods, the transition from Jesus to Paul, seeking to identify the thread of real continuity. The disciple clothes the message of the Master in the forms of the Hellenistic religions of personal redemption whose atmosphere had surrounded him from boyhood, and whose phraseology was current coin with the Gentile world to which he preached. If he has thus obscured it only, then our effort should be limited to removing the disguise. The Pauline Epistles will be useful mainly as approaches to the Synoptic tradition, woefully meager in their few grains of gold overlaid by tons of gravel and clay. If, contrariwise, the genius of the Hebrew faith has triumphed in this case as in earlier contacts with Gentile religion, absorbing and assimilating, but not itself absorbed,— if Paul makes use (as he demonstrably did) not only of the phraseology, but also of the ideas of Hellenistic religion to convey the essential message that was given him "from the Lord," and yet took over nothing which could not be controlled and vitalized by it, then he uses

the Greek forms of thought as he uses the Greek language; and the only question is as to the literalness of his translation. If we understand from study of the Hellenistic faiths their language and mode of thought, we shall recognize behind the Greek dress the vital idea which Paul laid hold upon because it had fundamental value, and was in truth germane to his own. Still we must also look for difference and advance. The message which Paul took up was not that of the Prophet of Galilee. It offered no nationalistic Christ, "a Christ according to the flesh," nor even "thrones of the house of David." It had almost ceased to be apocalyptic. Paul does not mention the title Son of Man, and his equivalent, if he has one, is a still more universalized abstraction. His Christ had been, to be sure, "of the seed of David"; but that was only "as concerning the flesh," a consequence of historical circumstance, just as he had become a minister of the circumcision to fulfill the promises made to the fathers. Paul's Christ is essentially the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, exalted "to make intercession for sin." He is the fulfiller of the mission of Israel, a righteous though suffering Servant, who by his knowledge brings the godless world to justification. It was the resurrection from the dead which by miraculous power had demonstrated the Crucified to be the Son of God. Thus the "glad tidings of reconciliation" was no Pauline novelty. It was the general and common gospel. But Paul took it up at the point where it had reached its supreme and ultimate form as an expiation for the sin of the world by the blood and intercession of its predestined King; whereas his predecessors could remember the preaching in Galilee. The difference is in degree of individualization. Paul does not speak of the restoration of Israel to the favor of Jehovah. He does not say "Christ, who loved his people, and gave himself up for the national hope." Only

once does he say "who loved the Church, and gave himself up for it." His most characteristic utterance is "Who loved *me,* and gave himself for *me.*" And individualization is universalization. A gospel for the world must be "the word of the cross."

To Philo Moses was the "mediator and reconciler of the world." He is identified by later Jewish teachers with the Servant of Jehovah, because he not only brought the knowledge of Jehovah's will, but sought forgiveness for Israel at the cost of his own share in the book of life. Philo and the rabbis differ only in the breadth of their horizon. The Servant is for Paul another, a prophet like unto Moses in the knowledge of God's will, but chiefly one whom God had "highly exalted" because he had humbled himself and become obedient unto death. This exalted One is now Paul's Advocate with the Father against the great Accuser. He is fulfilling his promise to confess his loyal ones in the presence of God. He has become an Intercessor for Paul's forgiveness, as the Spirit on earth also maketh intercession with groanings intelligible only to God. This, for Paul, is the supreme meaning of the resurrection. "He was raised for our justification." "If Christ be not raised we are of all men most miserable," because we are "yet in our sins." We have neither Advocate nor Intercessor at the judgment-seat, and we go as conscious transgressors of the law. Contrariwise, if God has raised him from the dead, and given assurance of it to all men by demonstration of the Spirit and power, He thereby commends His own love to us, in that while we were yet sinners this Christ should have died for us. If you apply the story of Jesus in terms of personal religion you cannot avoid making it both universal and transcendental. Calvary itself becomes a scene whose supreme actor is not on earth. It is God himself who there set forth Jesus in

his blood as a propitiation[3] through faith. It demonstrates His own righteousness, in spite of His forbearance in the passing over of sin in the past. For if a man have that self-dedicating faith in Jesus which is betokened in baptism, God is not unjust if He treat him as just, forgiving his sin freely, for Jesus' sake. We are accustomed, I know, to a most un-oriental, forensic, almost mechanical conception of divine justice, by which the law has, as it were, rights of its own, which God himself may not disregard. But to the Jews God would be most unjust if He did *not* forgive and forthwith *treat as just* any truly repentant sinner. That is what the psalmists and Isaiah mean by "justification" (*zedek*). A better translation in most cases would be simply "forgiveness." That is the meaning when the Psalmist says: "He shall bring forth thy righteousness (i. e., forgiveness, "justification") as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day." Israel's restoration to Jehovah's favor shall be as public as her repudiation had been. That is what Isaiah means by saying Jehovah's "righteousness" is near to come, and comparing it to his breastplate which he puts on when he comes to the rescue of his people along with the helmet of his salvation. Both the "forgiveness" and the "salvation" are *from,* not *for* Jehovah. The mere term "justification" or "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη) instead of "forgiveness" in the Pauline Epistles may be "theological," if you will; but it is purely Isaian, like the figure of the Servant which gives Paul his ideal of Jesus. It belongs to the "gospel" (another Isaian word) which he tells us he "received" when he became a Christian, the assurance "that Christ died for our

[3] The word ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3: 25 may be masculine or neuter. In either case its sense is best determined from the parallel in IV Macc. 17: 22. "Through the blood of those pious men and the propitiation (ἱλαστηρίου) of their death, divine Providence saved Israel that had before been ill-treated."

sins according to the Scriptures." The terms are borrowed (quite naturally) from Isaiah, the prophet of the Reconciliation, but the doctrine was not embodied in a book but in the rite which proclaimed from the beginning: "This is my blood of the new covenant which is shed for many." When Matthew adds to this the clause, "for the remission of sins," transposing it from its connection in Mark 1:4 with the baptism of John, he is doing no violence to the sense in which the Church observed the sacrament.

2. *Conversion of Paul*

To this Pauline gospel of "justification by faith apart from works of law" we must devote further consideration at a later time. Our first concern must be with what has justly been termed the new beginning of Christianity. We must try to appreciate in its full significance the story of the conversion of the persecutor; for Paul himself rests everything on this. It is not merely the foundation of his own religious life, but also of his call to preach to others. His Apostleship and his gospel, denied by his Judaizing opponents, are defended by him in common. They have not a separate origin, but spring together out of the same religious experience.

It is almost a commonplace of criticism to point out the supreme importance of this event. Here alone do we come directly in contact with a man who can say: I saw the risen Christ. Paul's letters are the only documents that really authenticate the gospel story. He knew personally James the Lord's brother and others who had followed Jesus in Galilee. He had heard Peter's story of the first resurrection appearance from Peter's own lips but a few years after his experience. And Paul is at the same time the founder of Gentile Christianity. As the great mountain wall behind his

birthplace, the Taurus range, with its single narrow opening, the Cilician Gates, divided, for antiquity, the Greek-speaking, European world from the Semitic; so this all-decisive event, the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, stands between Christianity in the form known to us, a Hellenized oriental faith, and the primitive belief to which Paul looks back. For he implies an earlier gospel common to both when he reminds Peter at Antioch of their common religious experience and its meaning, or tells the opponents of a Jewish type of resurrection doctrine at Corinth what sort of faith had been preached by all the witnesses in common from the beginning. If we can climb to the summit of this great mountain-peak — if we can actually lift ourselves in a real sense to Paul's point of view, we may be able to connect in our minds these contrasted modes of thought, and see Christianity as a progressive whole, a movement of the eternal Spirit, a work of the redemptive Wisdom of God ever pleading with lost sons to return to their Father.

The two accounts which come down to us of Paul's conversion, the one in the occasional references of his own letters, the other in Church tradition as embodied in the Book of Acts, are strangely different in motive and point of view. In fact the almost opposite idea conceived by the author of Acts of what this experience signified to Paul as regards his Apostleship and gospel is the chief obstacle to acceptance of the Lukan authorship. It is hard to believe that this Antiochian historian of Petrine proclivities, even though writing at a much later time, can be the same individual who was closely associated with Paul during the decade of his life-and-death struggle to vindicate the superhuman authority of his apostolic calling and the complete independence of his gospel. Acts leaves no stone unturned to prove that Paul had neither work among, nor apostleship to the Gentiles until after the martyrdom of James

the brother of John, twelve years after the crucifixion. Even then, according to Acts, he received it from men and through men at Antioch, after the Holy Ghost had signified: "Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul unto the work whereunto I have called them." Acts is equally eager to prove that Paul's gospel was identical with that of Peter, a gospel which he had ample opportunity of learning at the feet of the Apostles at Jerusalem. For according to Acts he was introduced by Barnabas almost immediately after his conversion at Damascus, and began his work among them, going in and out among them until his preaching to the Greek-speaking Jews (not Gentiles) of Jerusalem was interrupted by the mob. In both representations "Luke" (as we call him) verily thinks he does Paul service. He cannot think of higher praise for his hero than to tell the story in a way to prove Paul's dependence on those who were Apostles before him. He cannot imagine him "turning to the Gentiles" until the "twelve years" tradition accorded to Israel have expired, and even then not till the Jews have "put the word of salvation from them." He cannot think of better defense for Paul's gospel than to identify it with Peter's. This may not be quite the kind of corroboration sought by Paley in his *Horae Paulinae,* but as matter of fact it is of immensely greater value to the student than if "Luke" had simply gone to the Epistles and copied his story from them. On the surface the differences are an inconvenience. They are perplexing to the critic, and a stone of stumbling to the champion of tradition. In reality they are of utmost value. They are what parallax is to the astronomer who attempts to measure our distance from the stars. Without them we should have no scientific method of approach at all.

Of course the main difference between the two accounts of Paul's conversion, apart from motive, is the

fact that "Luke's" report is that of the observer from outside; whereas Paul concerns himself only with the inner meaning of his experience. "Luke" tells what it meant to the Church, which after the sudden collapse of the campaign of bloody persecution "had rest." Paul tells what it meant to him. Acts describes the persecutor thrown to the ground, blind and helpless, until, led by the hand into Damascus, humble and submissive, he is told by Ananias what he must do, and receives again his sight. Its narrative might almost be derived from the same sources as that which the Ebionite writer of the *Clementine Homilies* puts in the mouth of Peter, rebuking the Magus who falsely claims to be an Apostle of Jesus. "Can a man be qualified for apostleship by mere visions?" asks Peter. "The Lord did no doubt appear to you when you were persecuting the Church, but it was to stop you on your bloody course, as when the angel with drawn sword arrested Balaam as he was seeking to curse the chosen people." "Luke" feels no call to explain psychologically how it was possible for the arch-persecutor thus suddenly to espouse the faith he had opposed, and yet retain the deep sincerity, the ardor and devotion of a Paul. To us, contrariwise, it is obvious that for mental consistency there must have been a transition in Paul's case from a condition of unstable to stable equilibrium. Such mere physical experiences as "Luke" narrates could not have had this effect unless in some way the mind had been prepared in advance. Recovering consciousness Paul would simply have said to himself: "Paul, thou art mad." Or else: "What if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to me. Even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light." To understand the transition we must somehow account for the fact that the soul of the persecutor suddenly passes from a condition of strain and agony sufficient to wring from

him the cry, "O wretched man that I am; who shall deliver me from this body of death?" into a condition in which like one awaking from the wild ravings of delirium to quiet and peace he whispers in hushed tones of gratitude: "I thank my God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Paul has no explanation of his sudden change save "the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of God"; but the author of *Varieties of Religious Experience* tells us that with the twice-born, as he calls them, this unconsciousness of means is almost the normal mark of conversion.

Even had he been conscious of it Paul would be as far as "Luke" from any design of telling us his own part in this death and resurrection of his soul. His aim, like "Luke's," is to emphasize God's part and minimize his own. If "Luke" is anxious to make his readers appreciate how wonderfully God interposed to deliver his persecuted people, Paul is even more concerned to prove that the greatness of the power was not of men but of God, and that so far from his having planned the career which he now undertook, or having thought out the gospel that now came to him, it was, on the contrary, at the utmost remove from all his thoughts. He was not tormented with growing scruples as to the rightfulness of his bloody course. That he makes amply clear.

We do not underestimate the agony to a soul like Paul's of dipping his hands in the blood of men like Stephen. We only deny that the pain was to his mind a reason for desisting from his course. On the contrary, the more it cost the more he verily believed he did God service. There *was* agony of soul. There was strain and stress, up to, and beyond the breaking point. But so far as Paul's conscious thought was concerned it was not impelling him toward the faith of his victims. We misinterpret the sense of the proverb, "It is hard

for thee to kick against the goad," if we take it to refer to remorse of conscience experienced by the wavering persecutor. It is not the *pain* suffered by the restive ox which the proverb calls to mind, but the *futility* of its lashing out against the driver. Paul makes emphatic and repeated declarations that he had no such misgivings. We do him injustice if we fail to see that the approach to the crisis was subconscious. On the other hand without such subconscious approach the psychological overturn is inexplicable. For we also know from many a narrative of sudden conversion, from Luther to modern times, how easy it is for all the preparation to be thus made, so that the subject seems to himself suddenly to awake a new man, although in reality the barriers to the new current of life had long been secretly undermined. It happens then as when the ocean, which for months and years, perhaps, has worked its way unobserved beneath the dike, in a moment breaks through, and with sudden rush sweeps all before it.

God himself respects the free-will wherewith he has endowed us. He does violence to the personality of no man, not even the persecutor. In Paul's own language we work out our own salvation, even if it be God that works in us both to will and to do. But in the case of his own conversion it is God's part and not his own on which all his attention is concentrated, for the simple reason that it is this which his opponents denied. It does not follow that there were no human antecedents. On the contrary it is of the utmost importance for a right understanding of the divine working that we search out to the limit of our ability the human channels through which the divine influences flowed.

It is more or less habitual with those who hold Paul responsible for sweeping innovations on the simple gospel of Jesus, to meet the psychological objections by saying: "Paul as a Pharisee had already in his mind

the elements of that theological system which we find advanced in his letters as the gospel of justification by faith. All that was needed was the vision on the road to Damascus to make him ready to insert the figure of the crucified Nazarene in the vacant central niche. Once convinced that Jesus whom he had been persecuting was the expected Messiah, all the rest might follow logically in his mind."

Far be it from me to deny the use of the scribal system of thought and expression by Paul. He who so freely employs those of the Greek religions of personal redemption around him, in spite of the ineradicable Jewish hatred of heathen worship, would not have discarded the teaching of Gamaliel from his mind, even had he been able. One might almost say that in Paul the gospel of Jesus has undergone a double translation, first into the forms of thought and expression which belong to the Jewish rabbi, then a second time into those which would be most intelligible to his heathen converts. Nevertheless the vital, organizing factor never ceases to be what Paul himself so emphatically declares it. The gospel of Jesus is not absorbed by, or assimilated to, these more or less alien forms and modes of expression. The reverse is true. They are made its vehicle. It is for us to distinguish between form and vital substance.

Is it then the fact that Paul's gospel of justification by faith in a glorified Redeemer is an innovation upon the gospel of Jesus? Certainly it was not so to the consciousness of Paul; and (what is more convincing) it does not appear to have been so to Paul's fellow-disciples. For even the Pillars in Jerusalem make no qualification in their endorsement, and Peter himself, when publicly taken to task by Paul at Antioch, makes no objection to Paul's imputation to him also of this

very same gospel of justification by faith in the Crucified, apart from works of law.[4]

The fact is this attempt to remove a psychological difficulty by appeal to the supernatural is a return to the old vice of mediæval theology. To remove one difficulty we create a greater further back. If we make the vision responsible for the transfer to Jesus of the attributes of Paul's rabbinic Messiah, how do we account for the fact that Paul had such a vision? In the psychology of religious experience creative miracles do not occur. The mind operates with the material at its disposal. Even the most catastrophic revulsions, such as Paul's, have their antecedents, and the proof that Paul's vision was not after all an act of violence to his own mind and personality, and did not introduce new and alien factors to his thought, is that when he looks back to it, and before it, he can see that all unknown to himself God had set him apart from his mother's womb for this very thing, and directed all his way to it. After the cataract it is still the same river that flows on, but in deeper, fuller stream.

The key-note to Paul's whole life is the antithesis of "Law" and "grace." Before his conversion he sums up as it were in his own person the whole effort of progressive Judaism since the time of Ezra. He was a Pharisee of Pharisees in seeking the hope of Israel through obedience to the Law. Since the return from the Exile Israel had become "the people of the Book." Prophecy had come to mean for it the national hope of restoration to the divine favor (δικαιοσύνη, *zedek, zedakah*) and salvation, God's acknowledgment of them as his people before the world. The law was the means of obtaining this divine acknowledgment. Since Synagogue religion had taken the place of temple-worship as

[4] Gal. 2: 1–10, 14–21.

the real religion of the people, scribe and Pharisee had labored together with untiring, marvelous devotion to make ready for Jehovah a people prepared for Him by the spirit of obedience.[5] What we call the legalistic tendency of post-Maccabean Judaism was epitomized in Paul. He plunged into it heart and soul even beyond his contemporaries. And, as was characteristic of him, he applied it with intense individualism first of all to himself. He would have for Israel (but to begin with for himself) a "righteousness," or, as we might also render, "a justification" (δικαιοσύνη) of his own, "even that which is through the Law." It is just because of the fact that Paul perceived more keenly than others the irrepressible conflict between the gospel of forgiveness to penitent sinners preached by Jesus, and the ideal of obedience cherished by scribe and Pharisee, that he became a leader in persecuting the Way of Justification by the grace of the Lord Jesus. The Pharisee's indignation was great when Jesus appealed to his healings to confirm his message of forgiveness. It was accentuated a hundred fold when the followers of the Nazarene began to advance the doctrine of expiation through his blood, applying to his self-dedication to death the Isaian prophecy of the Suffering Servant for whose sake the "many" are forgiven.

Such was the doctrine of "justification" by the grace of the Lord Jesus[6] which provoked the persecution of Saul of Tarsus. But we have no reason to doubt that if Saul of Tarsus had been in Jerusalem or Galilee at the time of Jesus' ministry, he would have been the conscientious leader of the scribal opposition to the Friend of the publicans and sinners, just as he was afterwards. Paul took Pharisaism seriously, and applied it remorselessly. Hellenism appears only in the

[5] Cf. *Jubilees.* i, 24–26.
[6] Gal. 1: 16 f.; cf. Acts 15: 8.

fact that his religion is personal rather than national. Like the author of *Jubilees* he seeks rightness with God as the supreme end. Only he is more intensely individualistic and sets a more exacting standard. On this basis one who like Paul combines clearness of vision with ardor of soul will find himself inevitably in just the *impasse* which Paul describes as the immediate antecedent of his collapse. The Law *could not* accomplish the deliverance expected of it, "in that it was weak through the flesh." Paul found himself no better than any other "sinner of the Gentiles," in fact his very knowledge of the law made his condition worse; for instead of giving him victory over the law of sin which he found in his members, warring against the law of his mind, it seemed rather to provoke him to all manner of evil concupiscence, and then to leave him more than ever the object of the wrath of God. Thus the very ordinance of life — such is inherently the purpose of the commandment — becomes to a mind in slavery to the untamable propensities of the flesh a savor of death unto death.

Can we imagine any other issue to this hopeless conflict of soul than that which actually took place? Yes, perhaps; despair, and moral death. Despair and death, *if* Paul had not really already known another "Way." If he had not all this time been clearer than any other man as to the true alternative. If he had not already penetrated to the very heart of the teaching of Jesus as a gospel of "reconciliation" by grace, and the loving-kindness of a forgiving God. If he had not witnessed, not once but often, such scenes as that of Stephen standing before his judges with face transfigured like an angel's as he looks up into Heaven and cries: "Behold, I see the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God," my Advocate with Him. But the very intensity of the persecutor's opposition to this Way

brought the alternative the more vividly before his mind.

If such were the antecedents of Paul's religious experience, as seen from his own inward point of view instead of the external of "Luke," what shall we say of the vision itself? He saw Jesus, says "Luke," not in shame and humiliation, but as Stephen saw him, as the five hundred saw him, shining in the glory of God, transfigured, glorified. Paul also says as much. "Am I not also an Apostle," he demands of his detractors, "have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" He saw the Lord intervening to defend his martyred Church, says the external observer, as the angel of God stood in the way to oppose the false prophet who sought to curse the people of God. Paul very likely might not have denied this, any more than he would have denied the place and time, as he drew nigh to Damascus,[7] or perhaps the experience of dazzling light followed by temporary blindness. Of course the vision did stop the persecutions. But these are not the things which signify to one whose inward experience had been such as Paul describes. He saw Jesus as Peter had seen him after the utter collapse of his self-confidence, after the denial and the bitter tears, after the promises of reciprocal loyalty at the supper, after the utterance: "Simon, I have prayed for thee," after Gethsemane and Calvary. "God, who energized in Peter," says Paul, "unto an apostleship of the circumcision, energized in me also," when it was His good pleasure to reveal his Son to me, "unto an Apostleship of the Gentiles."

These visions of Peter and Paul were not, then, different in kind, but in all essentials the same. "He appeared first to Cephas," Paul tells us, "last to me." After Peter had turned again and stablished his brethren, the visions multiplied. Many experienced the

[7] Gal. 1: 17.

opening of the eyes of their heart to see what had become soul-reality for those who had heard and remembered the farewell promise of Jesus. And Paul does not differentiate his experience from theirs. On the contrary he emphasizes their identity. The series which constitutes the apostolic witness of the resurrection, certified to by Paul to the Corinthians as not his own merely, but the common resurrection gospel, starts with a reference to the Isaian promise of forgiveness for the sake of the martyred Servant. It closes with Paul's own experience, which thus forms part of the group which began with the appearance to Peter. Moreover the substance of the vision is essentially the same, not merely for these apostolic witnesses, but even in the case of the many later "visions and revelations of the Lord." As in the vision of John on Patmos, the figure is "one like unto a Son of man" radiant in the dazzling light of heavenly glory. And if the symbols of victory over man's last enemies are there in that he holds the keys of death and of Hades, and the breath of his mouth is as a sharp sword, the historic origin of this faith is not forgotten. The figure is also, with that strange mixture of symbols characteristic of the book, that "of a lamb as it had been slain"; and it occupies the place of the Mediator and Intercessor with God, it is "standing in the midst of the throne."

Paul has nothing to say of the dazzling light, above the brightness of the noon-day, which Luke describes as blinding the persecutor; but he has a reference of sublime beauty and majesty to the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God which shone upon his heart in the face of Jesus Christ." He has nothing to say of that aspect of the vision which presents the risen Son of Man in the attitude of defending his persecuted flock, though certainly the vision did have this effect so far as the Church was concerned. The risen Christ whom

Paul saw was "highly exalted," even as he had humbled himself and became obedient unto the death of the cross, he was "at the right hand of God," expectant till his enemies be made the footstool of his feet. But his office and occupation there is "to make intercession for us," to be our Advocate with the Father, so that God may justify, no matter who condemns; for Paul is "persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." [8]

We all know how Paul defends his God-given apostleship and gospel in Galatians by referring his detractors to the well known story of his conversion. It was true of Paul, as of the humblest evangelist, that his supreme asset was his religious experience; and he told it in the forms which he found best adapted to bring out its religious values to his hearers. Unfortunately those who best appreciate the vital significance of these first chapters of the great controversy too often fail to follow it through to the triumphant close in the great chapters on the ministry of the new covenant in II Cor. 3–6, where the Apostle sums up its significance for the repentant Church restored at last to full loyalty to its founder and "father in Christ." In Galatians Paul speaks for himself individually. At Corinth also he had been obliged to fight an even more desperate conflict against Judaizing opponents of his gospel and deniers of his right to speak in behalf of Christ. After a direct affront to himself, which his delegate Timothy had proved unable to counteract, Paul had despaired of bringing this great church at Corinth back to its allegiance. At last, in Macedonia, tidings came from Titus, his second messenger, telling of their repentant return. Paul will not repeat the bitter remonstrances with which they had compelled him to vindicate his own apostleship, and

[8] Cf. II Cor. 4: 6; Phil. 2: 9–11; Rom. 8: 33–34.

prove the right to speak with authority which should have been so needless in their case. He refrains from the mad boasting they had forced upon him, but he will not quit the field without a clear statement of the terms of peace; and that not for himself only, but for all who claim with him the authority belonging to ambassadors for God. Since he is speaking to men to whom the conceptions of the mystery religions are the commonplaces of religious expression it should cause us no surprise that he uses their terminology. He uses its symbols to depict his own supreme experience, and even thinks of his own immortality as thus achieved. It comes by "illumination" (*φωτισμός*) through light reflected "as in a mirror" (*ἔσοπτρον*) from the face of the glorified Jesus, who is the "image" (*εἰκών*) of God. By this vision of the glorified One, this illumination of the *gnosis* of the glory of God, we also, he says, are "metamorphosed" (*μεταμορφούμεθα*) or "transfigured" into the same "likeness." In this assurance of immortality the heralds of the cross convey the message to others.

This is the very vernacular of the mystery cults. No man can fail to recognize it who has any familiarity with the current ideas of the religions of personal redemption concerning assimilation to the nature of the dying and rising Savior-god by gazing upon his image (*θεότης διὰ θέας*, or *ἐποπτίας*; Vergottung durch Gottesschau), as to being "transfigured" into the same "likeness," as to immortality being the destiny of the "reborn," and the like. Paul is using the ideas, and even the language of the mysteries to compare the ministry of the new covenant and its revelation with the revelation to Moses and the ministry of the old covenant. But it is his own experience in the vision of the risen Christ which he translates into this symbolic language. And he is describing it not for himself alone, but treat-

ing it as typical for all who had thus been made ambassadors for God and witnesses of the resurrection. It goes as far beyond the brief glimpses afforded us in Galatians, as Galatians itself goes beyond the mere externalities of Acts in the insight it gives us into the basis of Paul's religious experience. Study of the beginnings of the great controversy over Paul's apostleship in Galatians should never be dissociated from its climax and close in II Cor. 3–6.

Time will not allow me to follow in detail the majestic progress of the thought as Paul compares his revelation with that which Moses had received, still less to adduce the parallels from the Hermetic writings and similar sources which show the significance which it bears to him.[9] I will only remind you of the familiar story of Exodus, how Moses, after the people's sin, goes up to intercede on their behalf with God. On the height of Horeb he entreats that his own name may be blotted from God's book of life, if only Israel may be pardoned. Last of all he prays: "I beseech thee, show me thy glory." To that the answer is given: "Thou canst not see my face; for no man shall see me and live. But I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cause my glory to pass before thee." Then, as Moses stands hidden in the cleft of the rock, Jehovah passes by and a voice proclaims: "Jehovah, a God merciful and gracious, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin." And as Moses descended from the mount with his message of pardon his face was transfigured with the reflection of the glory of God. But Paul was not the first to think of this reflected glory on the intercessor's face as preparing him for immortality. Perhaps it may help us to appreciate what the apostle sees in

[9] See Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, and Morgan, *Religion and Theology of Paul*, pp. 113–145.

this story of the intercession of Moses, and his revelation of the "grace" and mercy of the forgiving God, if we remember that to the orthodox Jew this is the supreme instance of intercession for the forgiveness of sin. It is the Mosaic gospel of the "reconciliation" (καταλλαγή) manifesting the "grace" of God in not imputing unto the people their trespasses. Paul's reference to the passing glory on the face of Moses, a transfiguration that caused him to put a veil upon his face that the people might not see how soon it was gone, may seem strange to our mode of thought. If so it may help us to know that Philo, thirty years before this time, had already advanced the doctrine of a transfiguration of Moses through his intercourse with God and that Philo also makes this Moses' preparation for immortality. Describing his departure into Heaven at the summons of the Father (μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός) Philo declares that by the vision of God Moses' soul and body had been blended into a single new substance, an immortal mind-substance having the appearance of the sun.[10] It is not in the words of Philo, but in the mystic language of the mystery-religions that we read in Paul of the gnosis that conveys immortality by reflecting the image of the glorified Savior-god on the mirror of the retina. Paul borrows the phraseology of this religious mysticism to describe the experience of new creation which qualifies for the ministry of the new covenant. Unlike Moses those who receive this ministry have no veil upon their face. As they gaze upon the glorified Master, who for their sakes died and for their sakes was raised again from the dead, the radiant figure is reflected in them as in a mirror. As the retina forms the image of the object gazed upon, so Christ is "formed in them." They are progressively "trans-

10 *Vita Mos.* II, 39.

formed by the renewing of their minds" in preparation for immortality, they are "transfigured into the same image, from glory to glory."

So the long conflict of Paul for his God-given apostleship comes back to its starting-point, the manifestation of the Son of God in him, even as he had been manifested to Peter first of all. Only now he speaks not merely of apostleship, but of a "ministry" of the new covenant whose revelation surpasses the revelation to Moses. He speaks of an "ambassadorship" of the reconciliation; for in it both he and all his fellow witnesses of the resurrection are heralds of peace to the world. He speaks of an immortality for which we were created in the image of God. For that same God who in the creation commanded the light to shine out of darkness had made a new creation; and of this Paul was made a "witness" when the God that "forgiveth iniquity, transgression and sin" shined in his heart to give the light of the knowledge of this his glory "in the face of Jesus Christ."

LECTURE IV

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE GOSPEL (*Continued*)

II. THE MESSAGE OF THE RECONCILIATION

1. *Historical Interpretation*

The attempt was made in the preceding lecture to show from Paul's own references to his experience in conversion that the ordinary way of reasoning from it almost inverts the true principles of religious psychology. We must learn to look upon the vision as effect rather than cause. Paul had indeed a theory of salvation before his conversion. But the vision of the glorified Jesus did not come into this as a new, inexplicable datum supplying the needed deus ex machina. On the contrary it was the collapse of preconceived ideas which brought about the vision. And however unexpected to him, the vision was by no means without its antecedents. Of these the most obvious are two: on the one side an utterly unbearable strain upon his own soul to achieve peace with God through obedience; on the other the testimony of men who like Peter had found this peace through the grace of the Lord Jesus. There was also the spectacle of men such as Stephen transfigured by the vision of their Advocate with the Father. Paul's knowledge of his victims' experience unconsciously predisposed him to repeat it. At his conversion it was indeed as though scales had fallen from his eyes, so sudden was the change from darkness to light. But this does not mean that others, conscious, as Paul was not, of the hopelessness of his effort to achieve the

ideal of the Pharisee, might not have foreseen the outcome. It only means that *Paul* was blind to it, so blind that afterwards he stood in amazement at himself. In fact this is the very basis of his conviction of the divine origin of his apostleship and his gospel, inseparable as we have seen them to be in his thought, that they were "wrought in him," not of himself, but by the direct intervention of God.

It is not the purpose of these lectures to argue for Paul's idea of the supernatural method of the divine action in his case. There is just as much of God in it if the process turn out to be intelligible under known psychological laws. It is not my purpose to argue for Paul's theory of vicarious suffering and piacular atonement. It seems to me far superior to the mediæval caricatures which are supposed to represent it in the later theologies. The piacular conception entertained by Paul may represent only a transition stage in our philosophy of religion. I do not aspire to be a theologian but a historian; not an advocate, but an interpreter. Suppose Paul to have been quite wrong as to the modus operandi of the divine action in bringing him to the knowledge of the eternal Son of God; still he *was* brought into reconciliation with God, and it *was* an effect beyond his own capacity. The same is true of piacular atonement. Suppose that the spiritual new creation to which men testify would be otherwise characterized by the technical psychologist. Men speak of it as an experience of peace with God and of participation through Jesus in the eternal life and eternal activity of God, victory over evil propensity, victory over fear, victory over death. This may not be put in proper philosophical language when we describe it as "reconciliation with the Father." Still the peace, the new creation, are there. Let experts in the psychology of religion use their own terminology in explaining it, the

point is it exists. Suppose we hold strong objections to such modes of conception and expression as Paul's when he says, "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." There cannot be reasonable objection to our finding modes of expression which convey the essential idea in less anthropomorphic terms, so long as we recognize that there is a real idea, a real experience, an experience of most vital importance to men who have not peace with God, nor victory, nor joy in an eternal human Christ. We are studying the history and psychology of religion, in particular that movement of the eternal Wisdom of God which produced Christianity. The first step is to understand the witness. After that improve on his mode of statement of his experience if you will — and can. Fortunately the self-dedication of the worthiest for the unworthy is not yet a forgotten fact. It is still there to challenge valuation by the theologian.

In Paul's case the witness tells us things which he has seen and heard. They are more or less obscured by that process of double translation of which I have spoken, first into the forms of thought natural to a Jewish rabbi, second into those current in the Hellenistic religions for the benefit of Paul's converts. But we surely are justified both by his explicit testimony regarding the common apostolic teaching antecedent to his own, and by the unchanging principles of religious psychology, in maintaining that the core and kernel of this common gospel was salvation by the grace of the Lord Jesus, forgiveness of sin obtained by his atoning death and present mediation, triumphant assurance of the hope of Israel and of the world in the fact that God had raised him from the dead and revealed him in glory. I have admitted that the Synoptic Gospels retain scarcely a trace of this doctrine of redemption by the

blood of the martyred Leader. Their pages are marked rather by a strange absence of the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant, exalted "to make intercession" which is so fundamental to the thought of Paul. It is only in Hebrews, and Revelation, and First Peter, and Clement of Rome, and the most ancient liturgies of the Church, that we find this central doctrine of grace through the blood of the cross and the intercession of the risen Mediator. But we are not entitled to argue from this partial silence of a single restricted group, of later date, that the Pauline gospel of the "reconciliation" was a speculation of his own, a peculiar interpretation of the meaning of the cross, which later writers otherwise so diverse as the authors of Hebrews and the Revelation of John have agreed in adopting from the Apostle to the Gentiles. On the contrary, Paul insists that whether it were himself, or Peter, or the other Apostles, this was the common faith; and the Sacrament bears him out. Of course we recognize the extravagances, obnoxious to both ancient and modern thought, so apt to attach to this primeval doctrine of blood-redemption. We know how easily vicarious suffering and intercession of martyrs and saints can be misapplied in a way offensive to our sense of the righteousness of God, and dangerous to practical morality. But we cannot escape the historical fact that Christianity as a religion distinct from Judaism *did* originate in this belief. The statements of our oldest and most authentic documents would be decisive on this point, even if we did not have in addition the assurance just derived from our review of Paul's account of his conversion, to prove that the issue of his soul-conflict was not the question whether the crucified Nazarene did or did not correspond in character and experience with some preconceived messianic ideal, but whether the Pharisean Way of obedience, or that of the publicans

and sinners, the Way of forgiveness of sins for Jesus' sake, the Way of "grace," brought peace with God. The dispute with Peter at Antioch proves that this was the heart of the common faith. Paul's own religious experience proves it. For his vision was not an accident. It repeats in its most essential characteristics those which had been the experience of men who were of this faith before him. It took this form partly because there was no other way out, once his false hope came to its inevitable collapse; partly because the visions of his predecessors had taken similar form. And the similarity of form is not a mere coincidence. It was suggested by the parting promises of Jesus. Our business is first to appreciate how such utterances as those of the last supper could lead to the mystical experience of Peter and all the rest who "saw the Lord," afterwards to express if we can in philosophical language the precise value and meaning which these experiences continue to have as part of the history and psychology of progressive religion.

We have seen already that there is a real continuity in the religious movement from John the Baptist to Paul, and that while the sense of the terms is less personal it was already a gospel of "reconciliation" when John brought his "way of justification" by repentance and faith. It is our undertaking now to trace what we can of the earlier form under its double disguise of reduction to rabbinic modes of thought, and retranslation into those of Hellenistic personal religion. Is Paul's gospel the same fundamentally as the gospel of Jesus?

I cannot but consider that all attempts hitherto made to set forth exactly what Paul's gospel was, are more or less vitiated by two misapprehensions. The first concerns its source or derivation. There is failure to appreciate in its full significance the principle I have already expressed in the statement that Christianity was

to Paul the Way of justification, or peace with God, which he saw symbolized in the two primitive observances of baptism and the supper — or (to put them in a more logical as well as a more historical order), the supper, and baptism. It was not the teachings and miracles which we find related in the Gospels, since Paul neither possesses these, nor even seems to care for their story.[1] Nevertheless we find great effort expended by scholars to enlarge to the utmost the minimal traces in the Epistles of acquaintance with the teaching of Jesus, and a strong disposition to assume that it must have played a much larger part in Paul's preaching than these extremely meager references suggest. I have affirmed on the contrary that Christianity as Paul knew it was the Way characterized by these two observances, symbolizing respectively forgiveness for the sake of the risen Redeemer, and new life in his Spirit. I shall attempt presently to illustrate by a typical instance how great a difference this makes.

Before doing so let me venture (presumptuously perhaps) on a second general criticism of modern interpretations of Paul's gospel. This concerns its simple as against its elaborated form. As I read such intricate discussions of the Pauline system of thought, or the Pauline theology, as Baur's or Pfleiderer's or Holtzmann's, or those of countless other great biblical theologians, I am impressed with the conviction that there is a failure here to distinguish between (a) the primary conception which Paul repeatedly and emphatically declares was not his own; and (b) the apologetic, the defense which he personally weaves about it in answer to particular opponents. The apologetic in the

[1] It seems to be regarded almost as a matter of course that "the gospel" means the moral and religious teachings of Jesus in Galilee. But if we take the term in Paul's sense as "the power of God unto salvation" what is the teaching of experience? Is it the moral and religious teachings; or the story of Calvary?

nature of the case must have more or less of an ad hominem character. The gospel must have been simple and general. The Pauline gospel and the Pauline apologetic, therefore, are not precisely one and the same thing; and if we go to Epistles such as Galatians, and still more Romans, which are defenses of Paul's gospel against certain specific accusations, we must remember that this elaboration is not quite what we should read, if it were not that Paul was being accused of "making Christ a minister of sin" by his doctrine of "justification by faith apart from works of law," and of making God unrighteous, and an unjust judge of the world. I shall also use illustrative examples to show what difference it may make when we duly allow for this fact; but let me first indicate something of what may be implied in Paul's reminder to the Corinthians that he had not brought them a theology as his message, although he could have done so, but simply "the word of the cross," the same story which they continued to "proclaim" (καταγγέλλετε) as often as they observed the sacrament, a gospel which he and others had "received."

2. *Justification by Faith*

All authorities will agree that Paul's way of salvation has two stages: (1) Justification, by which is meant not making men just, nor even making them *out* to be just when they are not; but simply forgiving them, *treating* them for Christ's sake as if they were just. That is what Luke means when he makes Peter say in Acts 15:8: "But we believe that we shall be saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus." (2) There is Life in the Spirit, or sanctification; the progressive assimilation of the believer, not only in character, but even physically (so Paul believes) to the glorified Lord. For both of these experiences the sole requirement is "faith," a term which is admittedly taken from the

gospel of Jesus in Galilee, but which Paul is said to use in a new and peculiar sense. My contention is that these two great Pauline doctrines reflect the sense he finds in the Supper and Baptism.

The term "justification" sounds formidable. It rouses at once the apprehension of a theology instead of a gospel. We know it is used once or twice in the preaching of Jesus, as when he speaks of the publican who after his humble prayer "God be merciful (ἱλάσθητι) to me a sinner" went down to his house with better hope of "justification" than the Pharisee. We know that Jesus spoke of John as having brought to the publicans and sinners a "Way of justification" by repentance and faith, and in these connections we have no difficulty with it. We know it means the simple doctrine of all the prophets and the law, that God forgives the penitent. Deutero-Isaiah the proclaimer of glad-tidings of restoration to exiled Israel constantly associates the terms "justification" (*zedaka*, δικαιοσύνη) and "salvation" in the sense of divine vindication and restoration. Thus in the Song of the Suffering Servant it is predicted that the Servant will "justify many," himself "bearing their iniquities." We understand, of course, that "justify" means "obtain the forgiveness of their sins." When the poet declares that this comes through the Servant's "knowledge" (i. e., Israel's knowledge of God, not "the knowledge of himself," as the margin renders) this also is the proper function of the people whom God makes His "witnesses."[2] Israel's witness *for* God and intercession *with* God bring this "justification" of the many. It is thus expressed in the Apocalypse of Baruch, "God scattered Israel among the nations that He might do the nations good." In the prophet's view the exiles would be witnesses for God even among their oppressors, and as a people of

[2] Is. 43: 10.

"priests" and "ministers of God" would make intercession for them. The Gentiles also would then be "treated as just." It does not seem at all strange to us that this Isaian poem of the martyred people of God should have been taken up by the followers of Jesus almost immediately after the crucifixion as applying to the work he had accomplished. For the "justification" (δικαιοσύνη) and "salvation" which Jehovah is about to make manifest are Isaiah's great theme. They form his "gospel of the reconciliation" for the whole race of mankind. If, then, the disciples believed that Jesus had dedicated his body and blood that God might be "reconciled" to his people as others had before dedicated themselves, and even "given their bodies to be burned" out of devotion to the law — if Jesus had promised to make intercession on their behalf at the judgment throne, as the Isaian Servant makes intercession for transgressors, why should they not so apply the song? Indeed we have seen that the Targum of the Synagogue already did apply it to the Messiah.

We are quite able to understand then, how Jesus should occasionally, and the Pauline Christians oftener, use the Isaian term "justification" as equivalent to forgiveness at the tribunal of God. We can understand how Peter and the rest who had been witnesses of Jesus' parting act of self-dedication, and after his martyrdom compared his fate with that of the suffering Servant, should be convinced (as Paul tells us they even then were) "that he died for our sins according to the scriptures," even if in Synoptic tradition no other trace remains than an echo here and there, in references to the cross and the sacrament, of the Isaian phrase, "he justified the many, bearing their iniquities."

But somehow there seems to be a difference (and there really is a difference) when Paul begins to speak about individual "justification by faith, apart from

works of law." Just what the difference is, and how it comes about, we may perhaps see more clearly after we have considered the second qualification for our understanding of Paul's expression. Meantime it ought to be easily apparent that the thing itself of which he is speaking is exactly what is betokened in the cup of the new covenant in the blood of Jesus, which was shed "for the many, for the forgiveness of sins." The Ephesian evangelist, who speaks of Jesus as the "propitiation" (ἱλασμός) for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world, means nothing different when he says quite simply a few verses further on: "I write unto you, little children, because *your sins are forgiven you* for his name's sake." Paul means by "justification" just what all Christians of his time mean when they celebrate the sacrament. He means "the forgiveness of our sins for his name's sake," i. e., because we bear the name of Jesus. He does not mean "righteousness." He simply uses the Isaian expression for "rightness" with God.

Again, if we take the other term of the great formula, and ask what is the new and special sense which Paul gives the word "faith," our best answer will be found in the other sacrament, baptism, whose sense I have already given as an answering self-dedication of the penitent believer to the self-dedication of Jesus. In baptism the convert "confesses his 'faith.'" In Jewish practice it was the rite by which converts from heathenism put off the pollutions of idols, and were received as members of Israel.

To Paul as to Philo Abraham is the hero of "faith" because he left the gods whom his father had served beyond the river Euphrates to serve a living and true God. Circumcision was given him as a kind of baptism "made with hands." Rahab, who renounced the gods of her own people to cast in her lot with the God

of Moses and Joshua, is the feminine parallel to Abraham. Both were saved by their "faith." In Josephus we read the story of Izates, a convert of Judaism, of Paul's own time, who was at first excused from the formal rite of adoption into Israel by circumcision, but afterward learned in Josephus' words that "the fruit of piety does not perish for those that look to God, and fix their faith on him only" (*πεπιστευκόσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ*). Izates probably received the Jewish rite of baptism, and if so it was in confession of this "faith." John's converts were similarly baptized in token of repentance and "faith." They were thus received as members of the people "prepared for Jehovah's Coming." After Jesus' death the first act of the brotherhood of those who were determined to avail themselves of the new Way of reconciliation with God, believing that God had actually made him both Lord and Christ, was to take up the rite of baptism, significantly making it not merely a token of repentance, but a confession of "faith" and loyalty. They were baptized "into the name of Jesus." They dedicated themselves to him. They confessed him as "Lord," by which they meant their Advocate, their Mediator, their Friend in the court of heaven. Hence the "faith" which is denoted in baptism is far from being a dry intellectual conviction. With Paul, as with Philo, as with Deutero-Isaiah, it is the saving grace of Abraham, the Rock-foundation[3] of Israel. It implies both trust and obedience. It implies loyalty without limit. It means self-dedication to Jehovah, under His Christ, for this world and the world to come. Indeed the Jewish "confession of faith," the well known *Shema* which Jesus quotes as the sum and substance of religion: "The Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love him with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy strength," is not a creed, even if James does treat

[3] Is. 51: 1.

it so when he says "Thou believest that God is one; the devils also believe and tremble." Israel's religious teachers were never so foolish as to imagine you could unite men by anything so inherently divisive as a creed. The *Shema* is a sacramentum, an oath of loyalty. The man who utters it "takes upon him the yoke of the divine sovereignty." He knows but one supreme object to which all his powers should be directed, and they are unified in unreserved dedication to Him. If we took the *Shema* as our "confession of faith" as Jesus did, both our "faith" and our unity would be immeasurably the gainers. In the language of New England Unitarianism it is the covenant and not the creed which constitutes the basis of unity.

Returning to the question of Paul's special use of the term "faith," it seems to me we can have no better interpreter of his real meaning than the rite by which he and all his fellow-Christians expressed their relation to the risen Lord. "Faith" includes for Paul far more than mere intellectual assent, more even than passive trust; but not more than the Christian believer expressed in the rite by which he "confessed his faith," being "buried with Christ through baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father so we also might walk in newness of life." The "faith" betokened in baptism is an answering self-dedication of the penitent believer to the self-dedication of Jesus. To use Paul's chosen expression he "presents himself to God as alive from the dead." Is God unjust if he treat as just the sinner that comes to him in this self-dedicating faith? Or is it not rather an act of faithfulness to His promises and thus of "justice" (in the Hebrew sense of the word) "to forgive us our sins, and (by progressive conformation to the image of his Son) to cleanse us from all unrighteousness"?

I have tried to show by this example of the first of the two principles of Paul's gospel, Justification by faith, that we only need bring his terms to the test of those visible expressions of the common faith, the sacraments, to see that there is no real innovation whatever. To some extent the terms are new. At least they seem to bear a new connotation. They begin to sound theological rather than evangelical. But for this also there is a reason, besides Paul's individualism, and besides the influence of Isaiah. It is what I may call Paul's apologetic.

The great passage which is made central by all the biblical theologians for Paul's gospel of Justification by Faith is the text in Romans 3:24. But instead of taking this absolutely as an utterance by itself we should have observed that it sums up a long defense of Paul's gospel of grace against objections brought by Jews, or Jewish Christians of legalistic tendencies, who aver that it opens the door to sin, and is inconsistent with the divine justice. Paul declares that he is not ashamed of this gospel, in spite of these objections, because there is revealed in it "a righteousness (or 'justification,' δικαιοσύνη) of God by faith unto faith." In spite of the slanderous misrepresentations of his doctrine, this "justification" is witnessed even by the law and the prophets.[4] It is a free acquittal at the divine judgment seat, without distinction of Jew or Gentile, since all alike are sinners. If they come with faith in Jesus Christ they are justified freely by God's grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. Then Paul begins to expound what he means by this redemption or ransom, corresponding to the ransoming of Israel when they were slaves to the Egyptians. "God," he says, in highly figurative language, "set Jesus forth in his blood

[4] The expression is general, but if a specific passage were in mind it would doubtless be the Servant's "offering for sin" (Is. 53:10–12; cf. Rom. 4:25).

as a token of the restoration of His favor, a 'propitiation'" (ἱλαστήριον). God did this, he adds, to prove His own righteousness, because in His forbearance He had passed over a long record of human sin, but now because of this martyrdom He can at the same time be just while he freely forgives him that hath faith in Jesus. For the sinner's trust leads him to a sincere act of self-dedication and so makes him trust-worthy. It is "by faith unto faith."

This is apologetic. The point of it is directed against those who deny the "justice" of a God who should forgive sinners on any such conditions. The language is not such as Paul would have chosen for catechumens. Indeed it would be hard to find a passage more characteristically secondary and ad hominem in its presentation of the doctrine. The proof is that nowhere else in the New Testament, not even in Paul's own epistles, do we find this theological motive put forward as accounting for the sacrifice on Calvary, that God was thereby vindicating his own respect for the law He had Himself ordained. This is made the very foundation stone of modern doctrines of the Atonement. Yet apart from the heat of theological debate it would probably never have entered the mind of Paul or of any enlightened Jew to limit the privilege — nay the duty of the Almighty to forgive the truly repentant, sacrifice or no sacrifice. The Occidental idea of a judge who is limited in his endeavor to secure the highest good of all concerned by fixed principles of law is foreign to the Oriental. To the Semite, from time immemorial, the judge is a father, whose decision is made to fit the given case. Precedent is merely his guide to the highest good of all concerned, and he leaves to the parties involved absolute power to inflict or remit the penalty. To the ancient Jew as to the modern Moslem Jehovah is the "All-Merciful" (Er-Rahman). It is the very

essence of His glory that He "forgives iniquity, transgression and sin." It is an evidence not only of His "faithfulness," but of his "justice" that he does so.[5] Jesus' idea of the attempt to limit the divine "grace" by appeal to what the Occidental calls "justice" is illustrated in the parable of the Eleventh-hour Laborers, of all the parables that with which the modern finds it hardest to sympathize. The householder, who of course represents the divine Arbiter of reward and punishment, gives this answer to the complaint of inequality: "May I not do what I will with mine own? or is thine eye evil because I am good?"

We cannot infer any change in Jesus' Galilean gospel of free forgiveness from the fact that under the shadow of the cross in Jerusalem he dedicates his life in what the Maccabean martyrs would have called "propitiation" of God. His sense of individual peace with God in spite of the calamities and persecutions of the world remains undisturbed, whether the problem of national deliverance be solved or not. Jesus is not obliged to retract the parable of the Prodigal Son when he utters that of the Usurping Husbandmen who slay the Heir of the Vineyard. In the Galilean gospel of "reconciliation" the problem of unmerited suffering is simply left untouched. In the midst of persecution the little flock will still rejoice in assurance of a great reward in Heaven. But face to face with the national catastrophe of his own rejection and death Jesus was forced to find an answer to the question which Isaiah had answered with the doctrine of vicarious suffering. For some reason the repentant, obedient, and loyal remnant *are* permitted to suffer. Why is this? The question will not down. Contemporary writers conceived of the delay in God's saving intervention as due to a "measure of suffering" which must be "filled up." Why this should

[5] I Jn. 1: 9.

be was variously explained. As Deutero-Isaiah and the *Apocalypse of Baruch* conceive it God has a design of redemption for the heathen world, to which the catastrophe to Israel is a necessary means. As the *Apocalypse of Baruch* expresses it, "God scattered Israel among the Gentiles that he might do the Gentiles good." Paul's doctrine of the "hardening of Israel" as a means to the conversion of the Gentiles has a certain resemblance to this Isaian doctrine, and I should like to believe with Canon Sanday, that Jesus himself adopted it; but the evidence seems to me too slender. The Synoptic report can hardly be said to bear this construction, and Paul makes no reference to vicarious suffering as a teaching of Jesus, but only of "Scripture." On the other hand the martyrologies of II and IV Maccabees explain the delay as due to the need of placating the indignation of Jehovah at Israel's disobedience. The martyrs willingly dedicate their bodies and blood as a "substitute" (ἀντίψυχον), an "expiation" (καθάρσιον) to "propitiate" (ἐξιλάσθαι) Jehovah's favor, or to turn away his just "wrath" (ὀργή). Here too we are still without the means of answering the question (and probably always shall be) to what extent, if at all, Jesus shared this anthropomorphic point of view. We only know that he had come face to face with the probability (humanly speaking the certainty) of the rejection of his message and his own martyrdom. Why he must drink the cup he did not profess to understand. Enough that it was His Father's will that he should drink it, and that His Father's way was the right way for the salvation of the whole people of God everywhere. But the spirit in which he drank it was not an indifferent thing. By offering it willingly to God he could make the cup of his own suffering a "cup of blessing" to all that followed Him.

The great difference between this and the Pauline

"gospel of the reconciliation" is that from the nature of Paul's mission it loses its national character and becomes individual. It could not otherwise be universal. The "wrath" of God must be propitiated not merely as respects Israel, but for the individual sin of all men, everywhere. This is already a fateful step along the road that leads to the mediæval theories and dogmas of the Atonement. And it is carried further by Paul's apologetic, his answer to those who said: "Are you not ashamed to preach a gospel which by offering unmerited forgiveness makes the Christ a minister of sin, and God an easy-going Judge lax in the enforcement of His own law?"

Apologetic such as Paul's cannot fairly be treated as though it were the original and spontaneous product of his own mind. The primary statement of the doctrine of "grace" is one thing. Rebuttal of objections is another. We must look at Paul's transfiguration of the gospel with this distinction in mind.

Two things may well strike the reader of the Gospels as strange in Paul's controversial statement of the doctrine of "the grace of the Lord Jesus"; first, that God, rather than Jesus himself, should appear as agent in the redeeming sacrifice. In Paul's conception Jesus no longer offers himself. *God* offers him up. God even "sets him forth in his blood to be a propitiation" (ἱλαστήριον). But it is quite unfair to regard Paul as responsible for this. The representation belongs to Isaiah; and to the primitive Church, which even before Paul became a convert had already taken as the very basis of its gospel the scripture in which Isaiah explained the suffering of the martyred Servant by declaring that *Jehovah* "delivered him up," that "it pleased *the Lord* to bruise him," and more especially that *God* had "made his soul a sin-offering" in behalf of the many who regarded not.[6] The Servant's part in the

[6] Is. 53: 12.

Isaian Song is only "to make intercession for the transgressors." Paul does indeed repeatedly speak of the sacrifice as God's, as a transaction in which God "commends his own love toward sinners," in which He, rather than Jesus, is the offerer of the sacrifice, and the manifester of the great propitiation for the sin of the world. Paul does make the part of Jesus mainly that of intercession. But in this respect he has a complete defense against any charge of theologizing innovation. The conception is simply Isaiah's. It had already been adopted by those from whom Paul "received" this teaching as something "witnessed by the law and the prophets." In point of fact how did Jesus go to the sacrifice, if not in submission to the inscrutable will of His Father and very much against his own?

But, secondly, we are also struck by the fact (already noted as peculiar to this single passage of the New Testament) that the motive for the sacrifice is said in Rom. 3:26 to be God's intention "to prove his own righteousness," both in the exercise of forbearance in passing over sin in the past, and in the present time in "justifying him that hath faith in Jesus." To make his assertion the strongest possible Paul uses the paradox: "To him that has no works, but only puts his trust in the God that *justifies the unjust,* his faith is reckoned for righteousness." If you put it that way even an Oriental judge who undertakes to forgive the criminal as a favor to an interceding third party does owe an explanation to the public. He will be injuring his own reputation as unsparing to the guilty, and will be liable to undermine the law itself as a deterrent from wrong-doing. But how does Paul come to "put it that way" just here, and here only? As I have already pointed out, it is not because this way of looking at the matter is natural to him or to any other Jew, ancient or modern. It is purely controversial and ad hominem.

The very fact that it occurs nowhere else should have been a warning to the successive generations of theological writers on the Atonement not to begin, as they so often do, with the idea of the claims of the law to vindication, as if that were really the basis of Paul's thought. The idea might never have occurred to him if he had not been forced to defend the simple gospel of salvation by the grace of the Lord Jesus against detractors who declared that he "made the law of none effect," and God indulgent toward sin. Let us distinguish between occasional ad hominem arguments of Paul in defense of his gospel against those who blasphemously misrepresented his teaching, and his simple proclamation of "the grace of the Lord Jesus" which he emphatically declares to be in complete harmony with that of his predecessors in the faith. The ad hominem argument was that God *had* (in Scripture) given the "explanation to the public."

After all, the question as it presented itself to Paul was supremely practical in its nature. On the one side a given number of repentant souls who come to God conscious of ill-desert and condemnation, but asking forgiveness for the sake of one who loved them and gave himself up for their sake. On the other the God and Father of all, not ignorant as to whether the profession made by these is sincere or insincere, but able to look on the heart, well aware that this one and that other that comes to Him in the faith of Jesus had indeed died unto sin, living henceforth in the faith that is expressed by baptism, a new life of utter self-dedication to the risen Lord, and to the kingdom he died to bring to pass. The real question is: What treatment should this God mete out to souls that come to Him in such repentance and such faith? Knowing them to be already truly a new creation in this repentant faith, should God treat them as just in spite of their evil past; or should He

for the sake of the law, or because of the impression His lenience may make on others, or for any reason whatever, treat them as if they were still unjust? Should He (to use a colloquialism) exact the penalty "on general principles"? Certainly this exaction of the penalty without regard to the present attitude of the transgressor is not what Paul would consider the justice of the God and Father of Jesus Christ. Certainly it is not what any right-minded Jew would consent to believe of the All-merciful, forgiving God of the law and the prophets. Legalists, ancient, mediæval, and modern, will raise objections to a simple gospel of forgiveness of the truly repentant, through the grace of the Lord Jesus. It is against such that Paul declares that in the predicted "offering for sin" God vindicates His own righteousness notwithstanding His forbearance in past time, and His free forgiveness in the present of those that have faith in Jesus. God can forgive, because in the Scriptures of old He pointed forward to the martyrdom of Jesus; therefore His forbearance in past time cannot be counted laxity. He can forgive now, because the forgiveness is for those, and only those, "who were washed, who were sanctified, who were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God." Let us take from the ancient controversy what is applicable in our own time. This is Paul's apologetic, valid against the objector. It is not his gospel.

3. *Life in the Spirit*

I have dwelt at greater length than I could wish upon the first of the two great Pauline principles, Justification by Faith, in the hope of showing that if we interpret in the light of the symbol of the cup of the new covenant, which in Paul's time was its only visible expression, if we also bear in mind the distinction be-

tween gospel and apologetic, we shall be less oppressed by our sense of innovation and difference from the primitive teaching of Jesus. In point of fact when we turn to passages in which Paul is not using theological argument, but simply recalling what had been taught in common by all from the beginning, passages such as the report of the institution of the Supper in the night of betrayal (I Cor. 11:17–24), or the reminder to Peter in the story of the Rupture at Antioch that both alike had "believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, because we knew that a man is not justified by works of law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ" (Gal. 2:16), we find continually the same gospel of forgiveness through the sacrifice of Jesus, but in connections in which it is impossible not to admit that the assumption Paul makes that these doctrines are the common property of all must correspond to actual fact. There remain but a few moments in which to apply similar principles of interpretation to the other fundamental teaching, the doctrine of Life in the Spirit.

Just as we must go to the words of institution of the cup of the new covenant, "This is my blood that is shed for you," with or without the explanatory addition, "for the remission of sins," in order to understand what Paul meant by Justification, so we must go to baptism, that other rite which he underwent once for all when he confessed Jesus as his Lord, the rite which he always interprets as a voluntary participation in the death and resurrection of Jesus, in order to understand fully what he means by Sanctification, or Life in the Spirit.

Paul's baptism really forms part of the religious experience which it so shortly followed. It was the outward expression of the inward grace. What he brought to it we already partly appreciate from his many references to the rite, and from the history of the observance

even before its adoption by the followers of the Nazarene Messiah. The convert brought to it repentance and faith, a putting off of the former life, a self-dedication to a new loyalty. All were baptized into Christ, says Paul, as the slaves redeemed from Egypt were brought under the leadership of Moses; when, released from the darkness of their house of bondage, they passed through the Red Sea, and emerging from its waters were overshadowed by the cloud of Jehovah's presence. Repentance, it has been observed, is a word that has scarcely a place in Paul's vocabulary. The remark is characteristic. Paul's words *are* new; but not the things for which they stand. He talks of "justification" where the Gospels speak of "forgiveness of sins." So he speaks of "dying to sin," "putting off the old man with his deeds," "being buried with Christ through baptism into death," "being crucified with him that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin," where the Gospels speak simply of "repentance," "change of mind" (*μετάνοια*), or in Hebrew phrase *teshuba,* "turning again." If there is a difference in Paul's expression corresponding to the difference between his experience and that of a Mary Magdalen or a Zacchaeus, it certainly is not one that shows less depth and reality of feeling. For him, as for the rich ruler whom Jesus "loved," repentance was "from dead works." The term "faith" likewise receives new enrichment in passing through the alembic of Paul's mind. It is invested now with the connotations of the later Jewish literature, and here as Dr. Morgan notes,[7] the grace of "faith" plays a primary rôle. It is still further enriched, as we have just seen, with the connotations of the baptismal rite. The case is similar with the term "repentance"; only that now we have new terms alto-

[7] *Religion and Theology of Paul,* p. 114.

gether. Paul translates first into the language of his personal experience, and then a second time into the language of Greek religious mysticism, in which the forms of initiation symbolize a participation in the death and resurrection of the Savior-god, the condition being self-dedication to the service of the divinity, the reward immortality. Paul's experience was something more than ordinary repentance. He "died unto sin that he might live unto God in Christ Jesus."

We were forced back, when we sought the real basis of Paul's doctrine of justification, upon his references in Galatians, Romans, and Second Corinthians, to his personal religious experience, his conflict of soul, its sudden solution by a divine intervention, his revelation of the glorified Jesus, surpassing the revelation to Moses of the glory of the forgiving God. We must again turn in like manner to these same allusions, particularly those of Romans and Second Corinthians, to reach the real basis of Paul's gospel of Life in the Spirit, the thing which the believer takes away with him from baptism as God's part in the transaction.

Paul is no exception to the New Testament writers generally in basing everything on the Gift of the Spirit, the expected accompaniment of baptism, without which baptism itself cannot be considered Christian, but must be repeated.[8] "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his." Conversely, if the question be raised whether Paul has not offered the Galatians a share in the messianic promises on too easy terms, he has but one appeal: "This only would I know from you, when and how did ye receive the Spirit." Peter's early excursion into the Gentile mission-field is at first questioned in Jerusalem, but all opposition is silenced when he relates how, "the Spirit fell upon them, even as upon us at the first, and they began to speak with

[8] Acts 18: 1 ff.

tongues." Well may he ask, "Who then, was I, that I should resist God?" The very proof of the resurrection, and of God's acceptance of these brethren of "the Way" as His people of the new covenant, is according to Acts, the "pouring forth," in audible and visible manifestations, of the promised Spirit of prophecy and vision. Unless it was the "religion of the Spirit" Christianity, even in the eyes of its own adherents, was no religion at all but a delusion. The powers of "tongues," "prophecy," "healings," "miracles," dedication of goods, which followed in hundreds of cases as hundreds were baptized, were regarded as a "seal" of heaven setting the name of Jehovah upon them, even as the prophets had foretold the pouring out of the spirit of vision and prophecy, and the manifestation of signs and wonders, before the great and terrible day of the Lord.

Paul differs from the ordinary view in making the supreme evidences the moral. Faith, hope and love are to abide long after the tongues have ceased, the prophecies found their fulfillment, the miracles been forgotten; and these three are the best "gifts of the Spirit," love being chief among them. The Apostle shows a striking discernment of the true religious values in this warning to the marvel-loving Corinthians, but he forms no exception to the rule among all Christians in holding that the visible manifestations of the Spirit, miracles, tongues, visions and revelations of the Lord, are also a demonstration from God. They are "signs of an Apostle," signs of a divine adoption when granted to the ordinary believer. The power of victory within, of which the believer is personally conscious, may not serve to convince the outsider. But if this be insufficient proof, the opposition will be silenced by these outward manifestations. They are therefore, as Paul plainly declares, "for a sign not to them that believe, but to the

unbelieving." And the body of believers who straightway, from the very outset, began to appeal to these mighty works as proof of the presence of the Spirit, and of God's acceptance of their self-dedication in the name of Jesus, were doing no violence whatever to the teaching of their Master. Jesus himself had appealed to similar works when asked by the disciples of John as to the expected Coming of the Messiah. He had declared that the rejection of the testimony they bore was the ground of condemnation for the unbelieving cities of Galilee. He had pointed the scribes to them as proof that the Kingdom he preached was potentially already present among them, that "the Spirit of God" was at work, and Satan's throne already tottering. If we cannot accuse the pre-Pauline Church of departing in this respect from the teaching of Jesus, still less can we do so in the case of Paul, who supports his doctrine of the forgiveness of sin, by pointing to the inward effects of the Spirit, its victory over the law of sin in our members, as the highest proof of all. Is there indeed any essential difference between Paul's argument in First Corinthians for victorious, soul-renewing love, as the highest gift, the highest proof of the adoption, and the argument by which Jesus justifies his declaration to the penitent harlot: "thy sins are forgiven"? Jesus appeals to the same inward new creation by the power of God in the parable whose point is "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she hath showed much love: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." Measured by his own standard of works the Pharisee is here put to shame by the forgiven harlot. Is that essentially different from Paul's appeal to the fruits of the Spirit? It would be well to remember that Paul has such instances in view when the question is raised whether it is compatible with the justice of God to grant free forgiveness to the unjust. What is the

practical result? Do they, or do they not, "love much"?

In the first five chapters of Romans we have a defense of Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith. The remainder of the doctrinal section down to the point where he begins his explanation of the rejection of Israel in chapters 9–11 is taken up with a defense of his doctrine of Sanctification, or Life in the Spirit; and this must be understood, if we follow the principle of interpretation already laid down, as a teaching of the significance of baptism. But I must again recall also the distinction between gospel and apologetic; for while after the brief transition in the last verse of chapter 5 Paul does immediately plunge into the meaning of baptism as a moral participation in the death of Christ, and in the closing eighth chapter wind up with a sublime description of the transfiguration of both soul and body effected by the incoming of the new Spirit, it is quite obvious from the argumentative character of the long elaboration in the intervening chapters describing his own death to sin under the law, that he is defending his gospel of grace from the charge that it takes away the restraint of the law, and thus makes Christ "a minister of sin." In fact the whole development should be read in the light of the briefer summary in Gal. 2: 19, 20: "I died to the law that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me, and to the extent that I still live in the flesh I live in self-dedication to the Son of God who loved me, and gave himself for me." This is manifestly Paul's answer to those who denounce his doctrine of the abolition of law, declaring that he removes all barriers to sin. It is hardly needful to repeat his splendid defense in the exhortation to the Galatians to "Walk by the Spirit" (Gal. 5: 13–6: 10), and the ampler defense in the great chap-

ters we are considering in Romans 6–8. These repeat in greater detail the figure of dying to sin through the law that we may present our members as instruments of righteousness to God in a new life not our own but the life of Christ re-incarnate in us, so that "we were made dead to the law through the body of Christ (whose death we share); that we should be joined to another, even to him that was raised from the dead, that we might bring forth fruit unto God." We are more especially concerned at present with that element of Paul's doctrine of Life in the Spirit which has to do with its continuation after death; because here there is most ground for the charge of innovation, seeing that both in the eighth of Romans and in the section of II Corinthians on immortality, the section which joins on to his comparison of the revelation of the ministry of the new covenant with that of Moses, he unmistakably employs the conceptions of the Hellenistic mystery-religions. Thus when he speaks of the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead quickening even our mortal bodies, "changing them," as he says in another place, "into the likeness of the glory-body of the risen Christ," when he declares that God "transfigures" our very flesh by the continual renewing of our minds, because of (or through) His Spirit that dwelleth in us, the conception is certainly akin to that which Philo expresses in his reference to the transfiguration of Moses in preparation for immortality. Paul comes in some respects even closer to the ideas of the mystery-religions when in the great resurrection chapter of First Corinthians he uses the figure of the seed-corn, renewed after dissolution in the earth in a body given it by God, and most of all in the passage of II Corinthians on the immortality for which we were intended by the Creator,[9] and which is fully attained when our earthly house of this

[9] II Cor. 5; cf. Sap. 1: 13–16; 2: 23.

tabernacle is dissolved, and we are clothed upon with our house from heaven of God's own building.

It cannot of course be claimed that this mystical doctrine of transfiguration by conformation to the likeness of the glorified Lord is part of the teaching of Jesus. According to Paul it effects first a moral new creation here upon the earth, because those who live "live no longer unto themselves but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again"; but it also effects a reclothing with a spiritual body, so that mortality is swallowed up in life. This is not part of what Jesus taught in Galilee; but it is emphatically part of the original gospel; for it is the very reflection of Paul's own vision of the risen Christ. He is speaking that which he knows and has seen, even if he is driven for expression to language borrowed from the Hellenistic faiths. It is the very essence of Paul's message that he not only has it from the Lord himself that Jesus dedicated his body and blood for our reconciliation to the Father, but that he can also testify of his own knowledge that God accepted the sacrifice. For when it was the good pleasure of God to reveal His Son in him, Paul too received the earnest of the Spirit. The revelation of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ was to him a pledge of immortality, since we who reflect as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transfigured into the same likeness, from glory to glory. For this is from the Lord, who is himself the Spirit.

These two things, symbolized respectively by the cup of the new covenant in the blood of Christ, and the laver of regeneration — these two, "the word of the cross," and new life through the vision of the glorified Son of God, give Paul his gospel and his apostleship. Those who bear this message are as it were ambassadors for God, as though God were entreating by them on behalf of Christ: Be ye reconciled to God.

LECTURE V

THE HEAVENLY INTERCESSOR AS SEEN AND INTERPRETED BY PAUL

1. *Jesus as the Servant*

When as critical historians we take our departure from the Pauline Epistles as earliest and most authentic witnesses for the origins of our religion, we discover first of all that the two ordinances of the communion and baptism are the true Urevangelium, and that Paul's Christianity is an interpretation of these. His own religious experience was indeed to his mind a miraculous intervention of God, removing the veil from his eyes so that he, like others who had experienced it before him, could see Jesus in his actual condition of glory in Heaven. But even this was not to Paul primary in any other sense than that it gave him a direct authority for his gospel and apostleship, beyond all human teaching. It did not give him a new gospel of his own to preach, hitherto unheard-of, but the same gospel which till now he had been persecuting. What he had experienced had been wrought by God in Peter before him. What he taught now was the doctrine of "grace" which as champion of "the law" he had persecuted before. When he refers to it in passages limited to the basic common ground, such as his rebuke of Peter at Antioch, or his declaration to the Corinthians of agreement with all the other witnesses in the common resurrection gospel, he leaves no question of its nature. "We believed on Christ Jesus that we might be forgiven our sins by faith in Christ," the faith

symbolized by baptism into his name, the faith that he had "died for our sins according to the scriptures," and that he had been "raised again for our justification" as the Intercessor and Reconciler of sinners to God; for so it had also been written of the martyred Servant, that "He maketh intercession for transgressors."

It is true that Paul nowhere makes any direct appeal on his own account to the Isaian passage which he refers to as fundamental to the common gospel, and that we only trace its effect upon his thinking indirectly in such passages as the references to Jesus' sinlessness (II Cor. 5:21; cf. Is. 53:9, 10; I Pt. 2:22), his having been "delivered up for our transgressions" (παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν) and raised for our justification (δικαίωσις) so that "while we were yet sick men" (ἀσθενές; cf. Is. 53:5, 10), "sinners," and "enemies," we were "justified by his blood," "reconciled" (κατηλλάγημεν), and "saved from wrath by his life" (Rom. 4:25–5:11); or in the famous passage in Phil. 2:5–11 on the "exaltation" of the Servant. This seeming neglect of the prophetic proof-text by Paul is something which calls for explanation together with the still more surprising neglect of the Synoptists.

It is also true that we do not get Paul's gospel at first hand, but only through the perspective of his apologetic. It forms the background of a polemic wherein Jewish-Christian reactionaries occupy the foreground with their objections to Paul's sweeping onslaught on legalism. We are thus under the necessity of looking for the ultimate facts through a double medium, first Paul's controversial application, second, and behind this, his personal religious experience, which compels him to appropriate the faith of his former victims in terms applicable to his own sense of the supreme religious need. In spite of this double refraction (if I

may call it so), when we take as our touchstone the two symbolic ordinances by which those of "this Way" expressed their idea of the hoped-for salvation while Paul was still a persecutor, we need not go far astray. We shall see that the original common gospel was exactly what Paul calls it; a "gospel of reconciliation," glad tidings of peace with God, who had been estranged by the sin of the people, but had now given assurance of forgiveness to all that come to Him in the name of Jesus, participating by baptism in his self-dedicating death. For in baptism, or even before it in special revelations, God opened the eyes of their heart. They saw Jesus in the glory to which he had been raised up. He was now their Advocate with the Father, interceding for their transgression. And the confirmation of this inward sight was the visible outpouring of the Spirit, most of all the gift of tongues, teaching them to cry like new-born children, Abba, Abba, and offering outcries to God intelligible only to Him. The Spirit was thus another Intercessor and Advocate, pleading for them with God, and at the same time by its very presence convicting the world of its injustice to them.[1]

Paul was compelled to defend this doctrine of forgiveness for Christ's sake (or, as he called it, "justification by faith in Jesus") against the charge that it "made Christ a minister of sin"; and his defense was that those who were baptized lived no longer unto themselves but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again. They were given a new Spirit, which produced in them more real righteousness than was within their utmost power before. Paul could and did apply to this "new birth," or "new creation," of the Spirit, all the symbols of Jewish poetry concerning the "redemption" from Egypt; he used in addition the symbolism of the

[1] Cf. Rom. 8: 26–29. See also Jn. 15: 16 ff.; 16: 8 and the article "The 'other' Comforter" in *Expositor* VIII, 82 (Oct., 1917).

mysteries concerning the dedication of the votary to the Savior-god, whose soldier, slave, or freedman he becomes. Christians are not their own, but bought with a price; they are redeemed with the precious blood of their Leader; their life is no longer their own but Christ that lives in them; they are freedmen, no longer under law, and yet in voluntary obedience to the "law of Christ." All these expressions and more are made needful by the double necessity of reminding his converts of their duty to live as "sons and daughters of the Highest," and his opponents as well that the claim to be "not under law" did not mean without law to God, but under law to Christ. But the immeasurable superiority of Paul's teaching to the figures of speech which he borrows from Hellenistic religion is instantly apparent when we think of the poor and empty moral ideal presented to the votary of the mysteries, as compared with that of the Sermon on the Mount. Imagine the difference between being infused with the "mind" or ethical animus of Jesus, and the mind of an Attis, a Dionysus, an Asclepios! "Partaking in the nature of" the divinity, "life in the Spirit," "living in Christ," "living the life that is hid with Christ in God." are all terms that would be intelligible to the Hellenistic religionist, perhaps more so than to the average Jew. But what would they all amount to, beyond mere magic and superstition, if the convert did not know what manner of spirit the spirit of Jesus was? Hence the story of Jesus' blameless life was indispensable. At least the spirit which controlled it and made it an absolutely God-devoted life, "obedient unto death, yea even the death of the cross," must be made unmistakable. The convert must understand that his death with Jesus is a death to sin, his union with the risen life of Jesus a participation in that moral union with the Father which was achieved in the absolute self-

dedication of Jesus. He must have in him the mind which was also in Christ Jesus, and which is epitomized in the portrait of the Servant, humbled to the uttermost as a slave for the many,[2] undergoing the cross at the behest of God's inscrutable will, in order that God also might exalt him, and make him very high.

Thus the double necessity of maintaining the moral standard of the Church from within, and vindicating it as against its detractors without, led Paul inevitably to lay special stress upon the implications of baptism, and this in turn to emphasis upon the character of Jesus. Later we find this process issuing in Gospels, which like the Gospel of Mark, describe first how the baptism of Jesus results in his ministry of power and goodness in Galilee, then, secondly, his martyrdom in Jerusalem in devotion to the cause of the kingdom. With Paul it was inevitable that ethical teaching of this kind should delineate the character of Jesus in terms of the Isaian description of the martyred Servant, as we have just seen to be the case in his exhortation to the Philippians to "have in them the mind which was also in Christ Jesus."

Looking back at the process by which the figure of Jesus had come to be conceived in terms such as the Isaian description of the martyred Servant even before Paul became a convert, we can see from Paul's own references that the course of events in Jesus' career

[2] Maurenbrecher, *Von Nazareth nach Golgatha*, 1908, p. 174, declares that according to Paul, Jesus was actually a slave. This shows just as unenlightened a use of Paul's expressions in Phil 2: 7, which are based upon Is. 53 (in this case Is. 53: 11, LXX ἐν δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς) as in the case of defenders of the doctrine of Jesus' sinlessness, who imagine Paul enquiring in Nazareth as to his moral conduct in boyhood, instead of recognizing that in II Cor. 5: 21, where he declares that Christ "knew no sin," he is simply using Is. 53: 9, as in I Pt. 2: 22. The strange expression God "made him to be sin" may even be a direct quotation of Is. 53: 10; for the Hebrew has literally "when thou shalt make his soul to be sin."

must have been substantially as follows: After his two-fold vain attempt to bring Israel by repentance and faith into reconciliation with God, Jesus, in the farewell to his disciples before his martyrdom, took pains to impress upon them in terms which could not be, and which never were forgotten, that his body and blood were "devoted" for their sakes. In Mark's description of the scene, and in one other dependent passage, this evangelist employs the single Isaian word "many" (Mk. 14:24, "My blood shed for many"; cf. 10:45). This is hardly enough to warrant the belief that Jesus himself specifically quoted the Song of the Suffering Servant. However, we have seen abundant reason to think that Jesus did declare that he went to his death voluntarily for the Kingdom's sake, making his martyrdom a sacrifice to God for the restoration of His favor; and that he also made it clear that he believed this self-dedication would be accepted, since he made the occasion symbolic of a meeting again at the heavenly banquet of the redeemed. The age, as we know, was saturated with the idea of the efficacy of the intercession of martyrs. It was familiar with the theme of the self-dedicating intercession of Moses for the sin of the people, and it may well have harbored the belief apparent in Fourth Maccabees and the Revelation of John, in an immediate resurrection of those whose lives were given in martyrdom, so that "they are already standing before the throne of God." It would have been a marvel if in such an age the followers of the Crucified had not connected his assurance with the prophecy of the suffering Servant, exalted and lifted up to be a Priest for many nations, delivered up for the transgression of Jehovah's people, made a sin-offering to take away the sin of many, and interceding for the transgressors.

The week following the fateful Passover in Jerusalem finds Peter a fugitive in Galilee, broken-hearted

with shame and despair.[3] Practically all we know of the spiritual crisis which led him to "turn again, and strengthen his brethren" is what Paul tells us. It is apparent, however, from the comparison, that Peter's experience was parallel to Paul's own. Nor can we stop here. We have seen that Paul's vision presupposes the latent presence of its elements in his own mind. So was it in Peter's case also. When the waters of despair seemed to have gone over his soul his mind recalled the words, "Simon, I have prayed for thee." So with later visions. What all see is the Christ who had promised to make their cause his own in the presence of the Father, standing there doing as he had said. The next step is the gathering of twelve (doubtless former disciples)[4] whom Peter now "strengthened," and whose inward vision was quickened to see what Peter had already seen. After that we hear of "five hundred at once" having the same experience. Since this implies some general rendezvous such as must have taken place before the migration to Jerusalem, and since it is followed by the vision of James and "all the Apostles," whom we find not long after established in Jerusalem (Gal. 1:17, 19), we may reasonably conjecture that it took place when the company of believers went up together at the ensuing Pentecost, expecting the Lord's return. We can imagine them camping at the fords of Jordan where John had baptized, and there adopting for the brotherhood the rite which we know was adopted at about this time as a command of the risen Christ. Coincidently with the baptism, or perhaps shortly after, at Jerusalem, when Pentecost was fully come, the mani-

[3] For the date see *Ev. Petri*, close. This perhaps represents the lost ending of Mark.

[4] "The twelve" of I Cor. 15:5 can hardly be identified with the eleven enumerated in the Gospel lists. It is more probable that the fixed number "twelve" dates from the rallying by Peter, and is carried back in the lists (whose names vary) to the days of Jesus' ministry.

festation was given of which Paul speaks. The five hundred became witnesses. Either now, or almost at once thereafter, the Spirit came upon them and they spake with tongues.

It is after this, and after two further appearances, first to James, then to "all the apostles," [5] that the experience of Paul begins. Certainly there was sufficient interdependence here to account for a basic unity in the conception. As we have seen, the unifying factors are on the one side the parting message of Jesus, on the other the figure of the suffering Servant, making reconciliation for sin as he stands exalted in the presence of God. Did Peter perhaps hear it read on that Sabbath after the days of Unleavened Bread as it still reads in the Aramaic targum: "Behold my Servant the Messiah shall prosper. He shall be high, and increase and be exceeding strong"? It continues after a description of Israel's humiliation: "then for our sins he will pray, and our iniquities for his sake shall be forgiven. All we like sheep had been scattered. We had each wandered off on his own way. But it was the Lord's good pleasure to forgive the sins of all of us for his sake. He prayed and was answered, and ere even he had opened his mouth he was accepted." Of the deliverance which should follow the suffering the Targum has this to say: "It is the Lord's good pleasure to test and to purify the remnant of his people so as to cleanse their souls from sin. These shall look on the kingdom of their Messiah. . . . From the subjection of the nations he will deliver their souls. By his wisdom he will hold the guiltless free from guilt, to bring many into subjection to the Law, and for their sins he will intercede. . . . He shall intercede for many

[5] In Paul's use of the term "Apostle" it covers many outside the number of "the twelve," including besides himself such names as Silvanus, and even Andronicus and Junias.

sins; yea, even the rebellious for his sake shall be forgiven."

But however clearly we demonstrate that the Christology of Paul and that of his predecessors in the gospel has this common starting-point of the exalted Intercessor, whose life was made a sin-offering on our behalf, there is no denying that there is broad difference; and again we plead for observance of the distinction between Paul's gospel and Paul's apologetic. We find in Paul not one application to Jesus of the ancient title of "the Servant." It only remains in four vestigial survivals in the Petrine speeches in Acts, and a half-dozen more in the most ancient liturgical fragments. Elsewhere Jesus is spoken of as "the Son," even when (as in the story of the Voice from Heaven at the baptism) the passage from Isaiah, "Behold my Servant whom I have chosen, My Beloved, on whom I set my good pleasure," has to be altered to the form, "behold my *Son* whom I have chosen." [6] Not only the title is later disused, the conception of forgiveness because of the vicarious suffering of the Servant disappears. It has vanished entirely from the Lukan writings, which use over and over again the Isaian prophecy of the suffering of the Christ, but never connect it with forgiveness of sin. In Mt. 8:17 we actually find the central passage of the Pauline doctrine "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows" translated: "He hath borne our sickness and carried our diseases" and applied to physical healing. Only in the words of the Sacrament itself, together with one connected passage of Mark, is the idea of forgiveness for the sake of

[6] *Sap. Sal.* which likewise develops the Isaian figure of the martyred Servant, making him the hero of "faith" (3:9; 16:26), uses interchangeably "son" (*υἱός*) and "servant."

Christ's suffering permitted to remain — and even here it is cancelled by Luke.

The explanation of this must be sought in the unavoidable exposure of the Isaian doctrine to abuse, especially when (as in the Markan form of expression "a ransom *instead of* [ἀντί] many") it becomes a doctrine of substitution of the innocent for the guilty. It is significant that Paul always avoids this. He speaks only of a sacrifice "for" (περί) sin,[7] and of Christ's suffering "for our advantage" (ὑπέρ). We have seen already what pains he takes to guard against the danger (both from within and from without) of misrepresentation on this score. It is hardly matter for surprise that in the period of reaction to neo-legalism which set in after the death of Paul the doctrine of "grace" in the strongly "evangelical" form (to use a modern expression) should have become still further obscured.

We may properly compare this obscuration to the obsolescence of another title at a date so early as to include the Pauline writings themselves. The title Son of Man, which has been called "the favorite self-designation of Jesus," disappears in later times because the conception of the risen Lord which it connotes became eclipsed in favor of one more acceptable to the Greek-speaking Church. In this case Paul not only drops the expression, which would be at least as difficult to explain to Gentile converts as "the Servant," but recasts the thought itself. It is not that he would ignore the Son of Man doctrine, which unquestionably played an important part in the teaching of Jesus, and was essential to Paul's own conception of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom, but that he would blend it with a form of teaching more congenial to the Hellenistic world, the quasi-philosophical doctrines of the Wisdom writers, and so make it intelligible. Had any convert asked

[7] The regular Septuagint form.

Paul the meaning of the title "Christ," he would of course have been obliged to explain that "according to the flesh" Jesus had been born of the seed of David and was really the fulfillment of the national hope of the Jews, though not as the Jews themselves understood it. He would also have added that even if he had known such a Christ, yet now he would know such a Messiah no more. The title Son of David is to Paul completely obsolete, that of Son of Man survives only in altered form.

But Jesus himself had as it were set these two in apposition. He did go up to Jerusalem claiming national leadership as Son of David, but not without plain warning to his followers that it might be given him only as it is given in the vision of Daniel by the Ancient of Days to one "like unto a Son of man" brought upon the clouds of heaven.

There are many, including those of the most radical school, who believe that at Jerusalem before his bitterest opponents in the temple Jesus himself purposely raised the question of Messiah's descent from David, in order that he might confound them by quoting the coronation Psalm of Simon the Maccabee:

> Jehovah said unto my lord: Sit at my right hand,
> Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.

For my own part I cannot regard this addendum of Mark to the series of debates in the temple with the Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe, as authentic. It seems to be a mere anticipation of one of the earliest proof-texts of the resurrection constantly employed after Jesus' death both by Paul and all other New Testament writers. Use of it by Jesus in this way seems to me in the last degree improbable. I cannot conceive him publicly debating against the scribes whether his claims to Messiahship should be based on his descent

from David, or rather, as Paul says, on his raising from the dead by the power of God to sit at His own right hand.

But the later raising of this issue is no reason for questioning Jesus' conviction that God would give him the kingdom as Son of Man, if Israel refused it. The use of the title in the earliest Synoptic sources makes Jesus' application of it in some sense to himself extremely probable. Certainly it leaves no room for doubt that to Paul, and even to Paul's predecessors in the faith, this Maccabean Psalm, of which the writer of Hebrews in particular makes such elaborate development, was a prophecy of the glorification of Jesus as the second "Man," the heavenly Heir of the Kingdom.

Another example of Pauline change of form obscuring for us identity of substance with Synoptic teaching is the representation of Christ's conquest of the demonic powers. It is a striking fact that neither Paul, nor the fourth evangelist has any direct reference to exorcism. In both these writers exorcism is the casting out of the Prince of this world from his usurped domain. As in Apocalypse generally, the conflict is transcendentalized. Our wrestling is not with flesh and blood, but with the principalities and powers in the heavenly places. The enemies that Christ subdues are the personified powers of sin and death, the enemies of humanity, not the mere oppressors of Israel nor obsessing evil spirits.

But in Synoptic story also Jesus appeals to his own exorcisms as an evidence that the promised reign of God is already potentially present, since it is nothing else but the Spirit of God which by his agency is overcoming the strong man armed, and making spoil of his household. If we accept the story of the "travel document" in Acts, Paul also could have appealed to exorcisms of his own. But Paul, as I have said, prefers to transcendentalize. One reason may well be the dubious

nature of this kind of mighty work, which did not stand in the best repute with the enlightened, whether among Jews or Greeks. A better reason might be found by analogy of Paul's subordination of the spectacular gifts of the Spirit to its inwardly working moral powers, his sense of religious values. But perhaps after all the best is that the two prophecies which to his mind most clearly express Christ's conquest of the powers of evil both refer, as Paul understands them, to that overthrow of the powers of darkness which is effected by the resurrection. In the Septuagint, which is Paul's version of the Song of the Exalted Servant, the poet declares that "Because his soul was delivered up to death, therefore he shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoil *of* the strong." In his repeated employment of the figure of the risen Christ leading in triumph the released captives of the underworld, and distributing the spoil of the demonic powers Paul shows that he understands this passages as the Septuagint translator did, that the Servant receives as his portion "many" who had been the captives of the Powers of darkness. It is so understood in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,* and by the second century Fathers. In fact this "spoiling" of the last enemy, and deliverance of "us his captives" becomes the doctrine which in mediæval times receives the designation: The Harrowing of Hell. When in the great resurrection chapter of First Corinthians and elsewhere Paul also uses the language of Ps. 110 to describe Christ's session at the right hand of God, "from henceforth expecting until his enemies be made his footstool" he explicitly defines the last "enemy" to be Death. So also in Ephesians he uses Ps. 68, the triumph-song "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered," to set forth his idea of Christ ascending to Heaven and distributing gifts to men as the conqueror "distributes spoil." All this is so different from the Synoptic proof of the near-

ness of the kingdom based on the exorcisms of Jesus that we scarcely recognize the fundamental identity. Yet this "spoiling" of the demonic powers is really Paul's equivalent for it, as the language proves. It is, so to speak, his translation into terms of apocalypse of Jesus' parable of the Strong Man Armed, whose usurped domain is broken by the Spirit of God. The intermediate stage is the application to the raising up of Jesus of the songs of the Exaltation of the Servant, the enthronement of the Messiah, and the Triumph of the Champion of Jehovah.[8]

2. *Jesus as Son of Man*

In what is perhaps the earliest Christian writing we possess Paul gives an account of his own missionary preaching in briefest possible compass. He reminds the Thessalonians in his first letter what manner of entering in he had unto them, how they "turned from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for His Son from Heaven, even Jesus which delivereth us from the wrath to come." Compare this with the famous account in Acts of Paul's preaching at Athens only a few weeks before. The closer your study of the outline, the more, I think, you will be struck with the extraordinary likeness. At first one is disposed to think it must be due to actual report, though in other cases "Luke" seems to follow the well-known Thucydidean method of composing such material. Further study, however, reveals the fact that the resemblance is not confined to Paul and Luke. What we have is simply what Harnack calls a *kerygma,* a more or less stereotyped outline of missionary preaching, easily traceable back into pre-Christian times, and showing many early Christian parallels not based either on Paul or Acts. This, then, is one of the rare glimpses Paul affords us of his gospel, as distin-

[8] Is. 53: 11 (LXX); Ps. 110: 1; Ps. 68: 19.

guished from his apologetic. And if the note of "reconciliation" is dominant (as we should expect) in the clause "which delivereth us from the wrath to come," it is scarcely less so than the note of apocalypse, the Pauline form of the Son of Man doctrine, which in the version of Acts becomes "God now commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent; inasmuch as He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom He hath ordained."

Paul naturally does not quote the Book of Daniel to his Greek converts. On the other hand he is far from concealing from them that they are to stand every one of them "before the judgment-seat of Christ." Whether the elaboration of the Anti-Christ legend, with its little apocalypse of the "mystery of iniquity" in Second Thessalonians, is really Paul's is doubtful. It is quite unparalleled elsewhere. It must also be allowed that there is an unmistakable advance in Paul's eschatology from these earliest Thessalonian letters, to Philippians with its expectation of departure "to be with Christ." Paul's doctrine of immortality by progressive transformation of the body through the indwelling Spirit into the image of the glorified Lord, has really made his inherited Jewish eschatology superfluous long before either he or the Church is aware of the fact; and the process of its falling away is traceable in his own epistles. The Ephesian canon, with its curious inclusion of the two extremes of Hellenistic and Jewish-Christian eschatology in the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse respectively, shows the division much further advanced. But it would be superfluous to show how profoundly Paul is imbued with the spirit and the doctrine of Jewish apocalypse. Nor will there be any disposition, in our time at least, to deny that in this he fully reflects his predecessors in the preaching of

the faith. The only question will be as to the extent to which the admittedly one-sided "millenarianism" (to use a modern term) of the primitive Church represents the mind of the Master. Was Jesus "an ecstatic"? Did the belief in his calling to be supernatural Son of Man so predominate in his mind as to control his message? I have admitted that it seems to me impossible to account for Synoptic use of the title Son of Man without supposing Jesus to have made appeal to the Danielic prophecy as having real application to himself as the nation's divinely intended leader and representative, so that if rejected here he and his associates would receive their vindication in the presence of God. Also that he used the language of Daniel about receiving the everlasting dominion in presence of the heavenly court, and the language of Ps. 122 about sitting with the Twelve on the thrones of judgment in the new Jerusalem, "even the thrones of the house of David." But this does not prove him an eschatological fanatic, any more than his saying to the Twelve on one occasion "I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven" proves him "an ecstatic." Jewish teachers, if no others, must be allowed some little degree of poetic and figurative use of their own Scriptures. I must commend the judicious lectures of von Dobschütz, delivered here in the summer of 1909, as showing a more historical appreciation of "The Eschatology of the Gospels" than the school of J. Weiss, Wrede, and Schweitzer, which has enjoyed such sudden popularity.

It is to the problematical Second, or Teaching Source (Q), that we must look for our most important evidence on the use of the title Son of Man in the earliest period; and I think it can be shown that the Christology of this source is *not* apocalyptic. On the contrary its conception of the work and personality of Jesus is that of the appealing, winning, Wisdom of God, rejected by

wayward men, but destined in the end to restore the world. This Wisdom of God "which in every generation entering into holy souls maketh men to be prophets and friends of God," as Wisdom of Solomon has it, makes its supreme appeal in Jesus, according to the Teaching Source; and this "glad tidings to the poor," this offer to all the weary and heavy laden of rest for their souls under her easy yoke, is placed in intentional antithesis with the Baptist's terrifying warning of judgment to come. John the Baptist came as an ascetic, with notes like the wailings in the house of death. The "Son of Man" came as a bridegroom to the wedding feast, with a message joyous as nuptial music in the ears of "the children of Wisdom." We shall see in due time that the conception of Christ as the redeeming Wisdom of God is at least as familiar to Paul as the apocalyptic; and if we are seeking a guide in this perplexing problem of Jesus' own conception of his person and work, what better can we expect to find than the example of Paul?

It may seem as though we were attacking our problem from the wrong end if we attempt to account for the striking difference of Paul's Christology from the Synoptic by considering first his "conception of the last things." As Baur has said, the Synoptic Christology is an apotheosis doctrine: God exalted the Servant who had been obedient unto the death of the cross to His own right hand, where he waits to receive the promised kingdom, and whence he will bring it again to earth. The drama begins and ends on earth. The Christ is an earthly man who for a time is made heavenly. Those who are faithful to him will reign with him in the new and glorified Jerusalem. Contrariwise the Pauline Christology is an incarnation doctrine. The drama begins and ends in Heaven. The Christ is a "heavenly man" chosen "before the foundation of the world," the "firstborn of the creation," the agent of God both in

creation and redemption; for in pursuance of his consistent course of self-devotion he inverts the action of the earthly first Adam, and leads back the race to the Paradise from which it fell, restoring the immortality for which it was destined by the Creator. The Kingdom of the Messiah is only preliminary to its delivering up to God, that He may be all in all. The redemption is not so much of Israel as of humanity. The first Adam was made in the likeness of God, but counted equality with God a matter to be seized by robbery; for when Satan said "ye shall be as God knowing good and evil" he put forth his hand to seize the forbidden fruit. The second Adam likewise was made in the same image, but sought likeness with God in the way of self-dedication, forsaking riches to become poor for our sakes, becoming a "good servant of the many" even to suffering and death, and for this was exalted to the throne that is above all. Here everything is transcendentalized. The earthly career of Jesus is a mere episode. The beginning and end of the drama is "in the heavenly places." Is there anything that can bridge the chasm between two conceptions so wide apart as the apotheosis Christology of the Synoptics and the incarnation Christology of Paul? We deem that there is, and that the two spans of this bridge are the apocalyptic ideas and the wisdom ideas which are common to both.

Apocalypse is the Jewish substitute for philosophy. The Gentiles have speculation, God has given His own people revelation. As the *Assumption of Moses* puts it: "God created the world on behalf of His people. But He was not pleased to manifest this design from the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might convict themselves of ignorance by their vain speculations. Hence he designed and devised me (Moses) and prepared me from the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of his covenant."

The revelation to Moses of the purpose of creation as stated in the first chapter of Genesis is that man (which Jewish interpreters take as righteous and redeemed mankind subject to the Messiah) should have complete dominion over it. The Jewish revelation is here contrasted with Greek cosmology. Of this covenant of God to make His people heir of the world, a covenant renewed to Noah and Abraham, Moses was made the mediator in the revelation at Sinai. The mystery hid from the foundation of the world, made known not even to angels, is the divine purpose in the creation, as it is written "things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to conceive, even the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." These things which God freely gives to His people are the subject of the revelation. Apocalypse concerns itself with these. Noah, Enoch, Elijah, Moses, all the men who have been taken up into heaven are permitted to see the inner workings of the creation both physical and moral. They are admitted to the council chamber of the Highest, and see how He has designed the whole, foreseeing the end from the beginning and forestalling every obstacle.

It belongs, therefore, to the very nature of apocalypse that it sees the last things as preëxistent from the first. If the world was created on behalf of God's people under the rule of their Messiah, then God must have chosen them "in him" before the foundation of the world. Israel is God's First-born, His Only-begotten, for whose sake He created the world; so says Esdras explicitly.[9] All these titles of Israel are transferred in the singular to Messiah as the representative of the people. If they are the people of the Saints of the Most High, the Elect, the Beloved, the Just, he has precisely these titles, resting on the same scriptures. And he and

[9] Esdr. 6: 55–59.

they are in the same sense preëxistent. Hence the Greek translators of the Psalm beginning "Jehovah said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool," render the passage just before the ascription to the hero of the everlasting high-priesthood of Melchizedek: "I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning star." Messiah cannot be the omega without also being the alpha. Israel cannot be the heir of the creation without having also existed (in God's thought) before the creation. Indeed even all their works were wrought for them, as Isaiah had said (Is. 26:12), and as the apocalyptic writers and Paul are careful to point out when they wish to discourage the idea of merit.[10]

This is not mere poetry. It is the Jewish idea of logic. As Harnack clearly sets forth in a valuable Appendix to Vol. I of his *History of Dogma* (p. 318):

> According to the theory held by the ancient Jews, and by the whole of the Semitic nations, everything of real value that from time to time appears on earth has its existence in heaven. In other words it exists with God, that is, God possesses a knowledge of it; and for that reason it has a real being. But it exists beforehand with God in the same way that it appears on earth, that is with all the material attributes belonging to its essence. Its manifestation on earth is merely a transition from concealment to publicity (*φανεροῦσθαι*).

The great dénouement, accordingly, toward which the whole creation moves, is the "manifestation of the sons of God," those whom He created to be (as Paul says) "heirs of the world, and joint-heirs with Christ." Meantime their life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ who is their life shall appear, then shall they also appear with him in glory. When a Jewish logician desires to express his sense of the things which have real value he mentions seven preëxistent things, enumerating

[10] *Slav. En.* liii, 2; Eph. 2: 10.

them in the order of their necessary appearance on the earth before the consummation. They are given with some variation as follows: The Torah, Repentance, Paradise, Hell, the Throne of Glory, the Sanctuary, Messiah. When he wishes to raise hope to the pitch of certainty he says, "The soul of Messiah is laid up in paradise from the foundation of the world." Assurance is made doubly sure when the revelators declare as in *Enoch* that they have seen him waiting for the time of his appearance in the treasure-house of souls. True the distinction is made by our modern theologians with great care between logical and real preëxistence. But the distinction is at best a tenuous one and in practice tends to disappear. The later Jewish mystics depict the Messiah as impatient of the delay, imploring to be sent to the rescue of Israel. Pseudo-Barnabas already quotes an Enoch-fragment which seems to be using Ps. 102:13, 23 (LXX) of the "shortening of the time to have pity upon Zion," as in the Gospels also the days of waiting are "cut short." According to Barnabas Enoch had said: "For to this end hath the Master cut short the periods and the days, that His Beloved might hasten and come to his inheritance." [11] If the simple narrative of the Synoptic evangelists contains no trace of the doctrine of the preëxistence save the Voice from Heaven at the Baptism, which declares the fore-ordination and election of the Beloved in Pauline terms: "Thou art my Son, the Beloved; upon thee my choice was set," this is no more than we should expect from a narrative which leaves little room for theological evaluation of the scenes elsewhere than in the prologue. But Paul has both room and occasion for such theological evaluation; and Paul's equivalent for the Synoptic passage just quoted is the famous verse

[11] See the article, "Heb. 1: 10–12 and the Septuagint Reading of Ps. 102: 23" in *ZNW* III (1902), p. 180 ff.

in Colossians: "It was the 'good-pleasure' that the whole *pleroma* of the Spirit should take up its abode in the Son of His love, in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins. For he is the Image of the invisible God, the Firstborn of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him, and in him all things consist."

We shall see presently why it is needful for Paul here to set the higher sovereignty (and hence by Jewish logic earlier origin) of Christ over against that of the angelic hierarchies, and on what scriptural basis he rests the claim, the teachings of Hebrew Wisdom. But without waiting for this it must already be apparent that Paul could not be a believer in revelation as the Hebrew understands it,— could not have had the mystical experience of vision of the "Son of God" in glory which he shared with his predecessors in the faith, above all could not possibly have taken over the utterances of Jesus which embodied their faith in him as the Son of Man destined to appear upon the clouds of Heaven — without constructing from this as the very basis of his world-view a doctrine of the preëxistence of the Christ. If in his case the preëxistence of the Messiah is not a mere waiting in the treasury of souls, but an active participation in the work both of creation and redemption, this comes in part from his familiarity with the doctrine of the Wisdom writers concerning this spiritual agent of God in the work of creation, revelation, and redemption. In part we must attribute it to the necessity the Apostle is under of conveying to his converts from the Hellenistic world some sense of the values represented by that discarded title of the Christ, "the Son of Man." As we have seen, the Son of Man is for

Paul the head of that humanity that is to be in "the manifestation of the sons of God." He is that spiritual second Adam who was before, even as in the consummation he comes after, the natural that was first. It is the permeation of humanity with the "mind" that was in him that brings the triumph of the Creator's will, the unification and reconciliation of all in the spirit of service. Immortality there cannot be save in this spirit. Individually and socially the mind of the first Adam, grasping and self-seeking, is death. The mind of the second Adam, created anew in the moral likeness of God, is life and peace.

We have to look back to the teaching and story of Jesus through a two-fold translation here. We see it as reflected in the mind of a Jewish scribe, defending the truth against reaction to Jewish legalism, interpreting it again to Gentiles steeped in the mysticism of the religions of personal immortality. But would our knowledge of the abiding values of that teaching and that life be adequate without Paul? Is there indeed any evangelist, save the great disciple of Paul at Ephesus, who so teaches the world what it means to have had a Christ in their midst?

3. *Christ as the Wisdom of God*

Little time indeed remains in which to speak of the third great factor in Paul's Christology, the conception which he takes mainly from Hellenistic Judaism of the saving Wisdom of God. Later we find an increasing disposition to substitute the infinitely poorer term the Logos, as a concession to Stoic metaphysic. Philo begins the change for Jewish writers, the fourth evangelist among Christians. But the moral values are almost wholly wanting to the Greek conception. Heraclitus does make the Logos complain of human neglect in something like the tones of the Hebrew plaints of Wis-

dom, but the resemblance is remote. The Stoic pantheist's conception of the Logos has nothing of the human tenderness of the brooding Spirit of God, whose voice is the murmur of the dove, whose wings are stretched protectingly over her wayward young. The Hebrew conception of the creative Spirit is of a being whose delight is with men, who comes forth with entreaty to save them from the error of their ways, longing for their return. The Stoic Logos compares with this as the physicist's conception of the ether compares with the Christian's belief in a saving Spirit of God in Christ. When Paul thinks of the Wisdom of God, he has in mind that which the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon calls "the Spirit of the Lord which hath filled the world, and which holdeth all things together" (1:7), she that was the artificer of the creation, and rejoiced with God in his habitable earth, a "hidden wisdom" which the wise of the world cannot search out, but which as a saving spirit "goeth about herself seeking those that are worthy of her; and in their paths she appeareth unto them graciously" (Sap. 6:16). Paul thinks of the Wisdom of God as "a holy spirit, only-begotten (μονογενές) yet manifold . . . beneficent, loving toward man, all-powerful, all-seeing, pervading and penetrating all things, a breathing forth of the power of God and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty, an effulgence from the everlasting light, an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image (εἴκων) of His goodness." Paul thinks of this Wisdom of God as the spirit of revelation and redemption, which "from generation to generation passing into holy souls maketh men to be friends of God and prophets." He thinks of it as "reaching from one end of the world to the other with full strength and ordering all things graciously." He believes that "it is given her to live with God, and that the Sovereign Lord of all loved her."

He believes with the Son of Sirach that this spirit "came forth from the mouth of the Most High and covered the earth as a mist," that it made its throne in the pillar of cloud and made its tabernacle in Israel, in order that in the end it might go forth to the world as the four streams from Eden, watering all lands, "bringing instruction to light as the morning, and making Israel's knowledge of God to shine forth afar off." He believes with Baruch that Israel's calamities came when she forsook this way of Wisdom, even as the nations perished because they had it not. With Baruch he exclaims in the words of Moses concerning the Law: "Who hath gone up into Heaven and taken her and brought her down from the clouds? Who hath gone over the sea and found her and will bring her for choice gold?" God only gives this spirit of his own knowledge and goodness, "He that sendeth forth the light and it goeth, who called it and it obeyed Him with fear. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His Servant, and to Israel that is His Beloved. After this did she appear upon earth and was conversant with men." [12] Paul believes that this creative and redemptive Spirit, this spirit of the knowledge, fear and love of God, this spirit of revelation of the purpose and will of the Creator, so hidden from the world, is the special endowment of Israel, whom God chose for this very purpose, that it might be His Servant to bring peace and reconciliation with the universal Father to all the ends of the earth through the knowledge of Him. He believes that this eternal Spirit tabernacled for the redemption of humanity in Israel as a whole, and was incarnate in successive leaders of Israel by divers portions and in divers manners, in Joseph, in Moses, in Solomon; for this is the belief

[12] The quotations are made in abbreviated form, from Sap. 1: 7 ff., 6: 12 ff., 7: 21–8: 7; Ecclus. 24; and Bar. 3: 9–37.

of the Wisdom writers of Paul's time. He believes above all that the Messiah, the supreme representative of Israel as Jehovah's Servant and witness to the nations, will embody all the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge, comparing with those who had partial revelation in past days as the knowledge of a beloved son compares with that of servants of the household; for this is the belief of the vision of Enoch, of the inexhaustible fountain of righteousness and wisdom opened for all the thirsty upon earth in the days of the Son of Man, "whose name was named before the sun and the constellations were created in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, the Head of Days." "He will be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart," says Enoch. "All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before him, and will praise the Lord of Spirits. And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him before the creation of the world. . . ." For when the Elect One cometh "wisdom is poured out like water, and glory faileth not before him for ever and ever. For he standeth before the Lord of Spirits, and in him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the Spirit of Him who gives knowledge, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness. And he will judge the secret things and no one will be able to utter a lying word before him; for he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to his 'good pleasure.'" [13]

Combining in his thought the conceptions of the apocalyptists and the Wisdom writers as they are combined in the passage from Enoch I have just quoted, how was it possible for Paul not to think of Christ as the personified Wisdom of God? Not because he is so

[13] *Eth. Enoch* xlvii–xlix condensed.

filled with admiration for the pure ethics and the lofty religious teaching of the Sermon on the Mount (though I grant the conception would hardly seem a natural one if Paul had not more knowledge than he displays of these sublime teachings), still less because of acquaintance with, or dependence on particular writings such as the Wisdom of Solomon, and the philosophical mysticism of Philo, though I think it would be easy to go further than Grafe has done in his well known attempt to prove a direct dependence of Paul on Wisdom of Solomon; but because to an educated Hellenistic Jew such as Paul, converted by such an experience as his to belief in Jesus as the exalted Servant, the leader of Israel in its God-given calling to bring the world into reconciliation with God, it was inevitable that he should think of him as the agent of God in creation, revelation and redemption. As such it is inevitable that prayer to God should be offered through him and for his sake, and answered by his agency. He is to Paul the Son of Man who was "begotten before the morning star," chosen by the Lord of Spirits and hidden before Him before the creation of the world, who stands in God's presence as the Elect of His good pleasure until he receive his kingdom at the throne of the Ancient of Days. Paul, may, or may not, have known of Philo's employment of the mythical figure of the primal man, made in the image of God without distinction of sex, before the creation of the earthly Adam, destined to dominion over the creation; but he certainly believes in a Man from Heaven who is to be "manifested," and he could not fail to identify the Spirit of the exalted Servant who became obedient unto death for the reconciliation and redemption of the world with that eternal Spirit, the Firstborn, Only-begotten and Beloved of God, who is His agent in the creating and ordering of the world

no less than in its redemption and reconciliation to Himself. These are not isolated, individual ideas. They are the guiding principles of the highest messianic idealism of Paul's times.

With all this I cannot avoid the feeling that my hearers look upon all this higher Christology of Paul as a "speculative interpretation." No misapprehension could be greater. We are unfamiliar with contemporary Jewish modes of thought. Their personifications taking the place of abstractions, their visions instead of logical processes are alien to our thinking. We find it hard to sympathize with a mythopoeic type of philosophical reasoning which in Philo is already receding into the background, though even in Plato is still within view. Therefore we think Paul is indulging in speculation, when in reality he is merely making use of the most available forms, first as regards his own self-representation of the eternal significance of Jesus' person and ministry, second for its presentation to his converts. That presentation of the Beloved, "in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins" as "the Image of the invisible God, the Firstborn of all creation, in whom all things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, were created," was addressed to the Colossians, a body of converts who were being "robbed of their prize as heirs of God, by a gratuitous self-humiliation and worship of angels." They were being led into a degrading superstition by teachers of the mongrel type of Jewish-heathen theosophy which professed to have dealings with the "elemental beings of the world." Against this type of neo-Judaic idolatry Paul falls back upon the splendid monotheism of the creation chapter of Genesis, with its exaltation of man in the likeness of God as true lord of creation, the "weak and beggarly elemental beings" his mere stewards and guardians.

Practical monotheism was at stake, and Paul's instinct for the true religious values bids him reject the road of compromise along which the Church later advanced so far under the lead of Arius. It bids him identify the Heir with no other than that Firstborn Wisdom of God who is "before all things, and in whom all things consist."

It is not a speculative but a practical interest that leads Paul to supplement Colossians by the great parallel epistle on the Unity of the Spirit, known to us as Ephesians. In its opening chapters his prayer for his converts' enlightenment to appreciate the sublimity of their calling rises to rhapsody as he dwells upon the gospel of peace and reconciliation by which God through the cross has slain the enmity between man and man and man and God, giving all access in one new Spirit to the Father. But the Apostle does not stop with this theme of the building of the new temple of humanity; he goes on to make practical application of it in the entreaty to keep this unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. It is a practical interest which leads him to set forth how the possession of one Lord, one faith and one baptism is the world's real hope of order and peace. If the Spirit into which we are baptized is the spirit of this common Lord, self-dedicated to the world-dominion of the God of righteousness and concord, we have the higher loyalty which can and will break down the enmity between man and man, in the relations of domestic life, social and industrial life, political life, even as it breaks down the enmity between man and God. It is a practical matter for Paul, and not less practical for us, whether that life in the Spirit to which the follower of Jesus is dedicated is or is not the ultimate goal of human aspiration, both for the individual and for humanity as a whole.

There may be those who can conceive of Christianity

as the mere following of a high moral example. As for myself I see not how it is possible for Christianity to be a world-religion (or indeed, to be a religion at all), unless the Spirit of Christ, into which our own personality is merged in a self-dedication answering to his own, be nothing less than the eternal Spirit of the Creator and Father of all, the Spirit of righteousness and love. For in all the cosmos of life to which our sense extends there is but one body, and one ordering and redeeming Spirit, even as we were called in one hope of our calling. There is one Lord to whom all loyalty is due, one faith, one baptism. There is one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all. In this unity of the eternal Spirit lies our eternal gospel of peace.

LECTURE VI

BACK TO GALILEE. THE WITNESS OF PETER

1. *Gospels as the New Standard of Teaching*

It is difficult to withstand the sense of shock and change as one passes from the soaring imagination of Paul in Romans, Colossians, Ephesians, to the simple narrative of Mark. It is true the evangelist also aims to set forth Jesus as "the Son of God," [1] and prefaces his narrative with a quasi-theological vision-story in which a Voice from Heaven proclaims him such. But there is a difference between prologue and narrative. The evangelist tells the story of the Baptism in a way to make clear that John was the expected Elijah, whose function in Jewish eschatology was to anoint the Messiah, before which anointing he would be unknown even to himself. The story goes on in a form corresponding to the Isaian Servant-song:

> Behold my Servant whom I have chosen;
> My Beloved on whom my soul set her choice;
> I will put my Spirit upon him.[2]

It conveys thus the same conception of Jesus as the elect Servant, endowed with all the powers of the divine Spirit, which Paul had expressed in Col. 1:19. Paul declares that it was the "good pleasure" (the εὐδοκία) that the whole "fullness," or as one of the earliest uncanonical gospels has it, "the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit," should take up its abode in the Son

[1] The words υἱοῦ θεοῦ are wanting in some manuscripts, but the aim is self-evident.

[2] Is. 42: 1–4. The rendering is that of Mt. 12: 18.

of God's love. Mk. 1:1–13 puts this in the form of apocalypse, or revelation.[3] But the prologue of Mark is like the prologue of John so far as regards its relation to the body of the work. The fourth evangelist introduces Jesus as the Logos incarnate, and does his best to tell the story from this transcendental point of view. But the title never reappears in the body of the work, and in the nature of the case it is impossible to carry through the conception. Mark also makes the effort to tell the story from the point of view announced in his prologue. But in the nature of the case he cannot maintain the Pauline level. He can only relate a series of anecdotes from the Galilean ministry of preaching and healing to show how Jesus was endowed with "the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit." Thereafter he tells how he was glorified through his suffering and resurrection. This latter section of the narrative is prefaced by another vision story in which a second Voice from Heaven explains again the meaning of what is to follow. Jesus is again manifested as the "Beloved Son," or the Elect of God, and his suffering on the cross is revealed as being in reality the victory over death. Mortality thus puts on immortality, and this earthly tabernacle is transfigured into the eternal "house which is from Heaven." We have thus a second introduction of the values of Pauline teaching, which again takes the form of revealing vision, or Apocalypse. After it the evangelist proceeds with the anecdotes connected with Jesus' fate in Jerusalem. But do what he will to emphasize the miraculous powers of Jesus in the story, and the marvel of his wisdom and prophetic foresight, it is of course impossible for him to make it at the same time the story of a real man under real historical conditions, and also the story of the superhuman being who

[3] See G. Friedländer. *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 2.

steps down from the "Heavenly places" of the post-resurrection Christology. The combination is, however, attempted, even in this earliest known record of the sayings and doings of Jesus, and it is in this attempt that the influence of Paul, however indirectly, is most clearly seen.

It is fortunate indeed for us that the attempt could not be carried through. "John" has gone further than Mark in this direction of making the whole story of Jesus one long transfiguration scene, and we all know how fatal would have been the result for real religious values if this late Gospel had succeeded in completely superseding all its predecessors. Mark superseded all earlier Gospels. Had the apotheosis been consistently carried through the real and historical Jesus would have been completely eclipsed behind the glories of apocalyptic vision. The solid ground of plain, hard, fact, in the work-a-day world we have to live in whether we approve it or not, would have disappeared. There would have been left us as the basis for our science of religion a figure scarcely more substantial than the mythical heroes of the mysteries. Let us be thankful that the whole Gospel was not written in the mystic style of the vision-stories at the Baptism and Transfiguration, that there was so much of unwelcome fact, resistent to the alembic of the most ardently devout imagination, so much fidelity to things established in the mouths of many witnesses, that it was impossible for the idealizers to have their way. Well is it that the Church did not follow the lead of that ultra-Pauline element, which after the death of the Apostles sought to limit attention and interest to the Man from Heaven, ignoring the Galilean mechanic whom Paul had not known in the flesh. Sober, moral, common-sense led it to fall back rather on the Petrine reminiscences of the sayings and doings of Jesus.

The sense of change in passing from the Pauline Epistles to what I have called the "Aramaic enclave" including the Synoptic Gospels, Acts and Revelation, is indeed abrupt, and if we have any sympathy for the Greek conception of religion as participation in the life of the immortals, it tends to bring us back to earth with a sense of shock. No wonder Marcion would tolerate but one Gospel, and not even that until he had thoroughly expurgated what he regarded as the Jewish interpolations of the Galilean Apostles. Nevertheless if any ladder is to bridge for us the chasm between earth and Heaven it cannot be suspended from the clouds. It will have to rest upon the solid rock of earthly experience. It is not otherwise even with that Son of Man on whom the Ephesian evangelist sees the angels of God ascending and descending to meet our human need. One made in all points like ourselves is a better leader through the valley of the shadow of death than a demi-god; and a Galilean peasant better than an Indian prince.

The interval between Paul and the Synoptic writers is considerable in time, but still more so in situation. The one thing that ancient tradition surely knows as regards date is that Markan tradition is post-apostolic. The Gospel represents Peter's story, but without such consecutive arrangement as the evangelist would have given it if he had himself been conversant with the facts, or been able to consult the eye-witnesses. Mark was not himself a follower of the Lord, but afterwards of Peter; and even what he remembered from the teaching of Peter could not be made into an orderly narrative because through his death or otherwise Peter (and inferentially the other eye-witnesses) could not be consulted. This is absolutely the only tradition we possess concerning Gospel origins earlier than the middle of the second century. It is the statement of "the Elder"

consulted by Papias, and dates from before 118 A. D. Fortunately it is also not only reasonable in itself and unlikely to be an invention, but of very great importance; because scholarship is now unanimous in regarding Mark as the oldest extant Gospel, and the source, so far as narrative is concerned, of both the North-Syrian Gospel of Luke, and the South-Syrian to which the name of Matthew had come to be attached before 150 A. D. It points, then, to the very beginnings of extant gospel story. In addition there are reasons which I have tried to state elsewhere [4] for accepting the ancient belief that the compilation of this "Petrine" material into our so-called Gospel of Mark was accomplished in the great Pauline church of Rome, and for dating it in the earlier years of Domitian, not far from the period of Hebrews. These reasons still seem to me adequate. Here no more will be needful than to point out briefly the significance of this date and place of origin.

Only a score of years, more or less, since the death of Paul, and James, and perhaps John the son of Zebedee, and Peter. But that means that the chief eye-witnesses, if not all of them, were gone. For James the brother of John had already been martyred in 41 or 42. In the eighties men must have begun to speak, like the author of Hebrews, of the gospel as having "at the first been spoken by the Lord, and afterward confirmed unto us by them that heard." It means, if we use the careful chronology of Clement, that men were already looking back to Nero's time as marking the end of "the teaching of the Apostles," and considered their own generation as belonging to another age. In fact the extinction of the Julian dynasty with the suicide of Nero, the chaos of the world in the renewal of the civil

[4] *Harvard Texts and Studies* VII. "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?" 1919.

wars, the Jewish war, siege of Jerusalem and burning of the temple, finally the restoration of order under the new dynasty of the Flavians, might well seem to mark a new epoch, especially for the brotherhood of the new people of God, the pre-ordained heirs of the age to come, as the Christians regarded themselves.

I need not repeat what has already been said as to the great difference in language in this new type of church literature. The books are Greek, obviously composed for a Greek-speaking Church which uses the Greek Bible, as do the evangelists. But the material of Mark has almost certainly been translated from the Aramaic. Aramaic words and phrases are incorporated. Where special significance attaches to the utterance the evangelist reproduces the very words of Jesus in the original. Clearly there is a distinct effort to reproduce the past in the most authentic form obtainable. The book is new, but the material is old; and to judge by the uncouthness of the translation in many cases, there is already much of that desire which could hardly fail to appear, to get back to the authentic words and deeds of the heavenly Lord as they had taken place on the soil of Palestine. The Gospel closes with an invitation from the angel of the resurrection to come and view the place where the Lord had lain, almost a hint of the coming days of pilgrimage to this shrine.

But the difference of language is only the outward symptom of a deeper contrast between the new type of Church literature and that which had preceded. It is a new functionary of the Spirit who now takes up the word. We have been listening to the voice of the Apostle. We shall soon take note of that of the "prophet" who speaks in Christian apocalypse. Here we are dealing with a third type. It is the "pastor and teacher" whose voice is heard in the narrative books. And the difference in tone is great. The Apostle speaks with

the authority of his own experience. He testifies what he has seen and heard for the conversion of others. The teacher addresses converts already made, relating and interpreting not his own but his predecessors' experience. And for that reason he attaches no name to his literary work. The authority is not his. It belongs to those whom he represents. Only later tradition, compelled to distinguish between rival forms of the common record, discriminates one "aspect of the gospel" (as Irenaeus calls it) as "according to" this or that authority, from another.

2. *Evangelic Tradition at Rome*

The place of origin of our oldest Gospel (as well as its date) is also highly significant. It was as far as possible from the scene of the events. Written records are valued where oral tradition is scanty. The material, of course, comes from Palestine; but the language alone would prove that the work was compiled in a Greek-speaking country, and the character of it confirms the ancient tradition that it emanates from Rome. For in its whole structure it employs Petrine material in the interest of a Pauline gospel, thus illustrating the Petro-Pauline character of the metropolitan church. For we are informed on reliable authority that the Roman church began as a foundation of those who taught a Jewish-Christian gospel of continuance under the Mosaic ordinances, and only later came under the more liberal influence of Paul. This liberalization had already taken place at the time when Paul wrote his great Epistle to the Romans; for, Paul finds it necessary to urge more consideration for the "weak," that is, the scrupulous Jewish-Christian element. These for themselves followed the example of Peter, though conceding liberty to Gentiles. When Paul wrote, accordingly, the Paulinists must have been at Rome predominant.

As at Corinth, the church needed no urging in the direction of the freedom wherewith Christ had set them free. It required rather to be reminded that Paul, whose freedom they emulated, had refrained from asserting it when it might cause the "weak" brother to stumble. Now the kind of Paulinists from whom we get the Gospel of Mark are in fact of just this "strong" sort. Emancipation from Jewish legalism is their notion of his doctrine. They have been informed concerning Paul that he "teaches the Jews which are among the Gentiles everywhere not to circumcise their children, nor to obey the customs." As we see from Acts, common report told this about Paul long before men had opportunity to learn from the Epistles his doctrine of Life in the Spirit producing the fruits of love and peace. The former teaching, justification by faith alone, without works of law, spreads quickly and easily. It is a proclamation of emancipation which one man can carry in a few years from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum. The latter, life in the Spirit, is a slow process of soul culture which will occupy the pastor and teacher for generations — if indeed the finer Paulinism is ever learned.

The whole conception and object of the Gospel of Mark are "Pauline" in the former broad sense for which we might perhaps more properly use the term Paulinistic. Its message is salvation "not by works of the law, but by the grace of the Lord Jesus." It represents in this respect a marked antithesis to Matthew, the Gospel of the new Torah, in spite of the fact that practically all the narrative material of Matthew is derived from Mark. Per contra the absence of the teaching element from Mark is conspicuous. We have anecdotes of both sayings and doings, but the selection is made to show what Jesus did. There is scarcely an attempt to show what he taught, save by example.

Take as an example of the difference between Matthew and Mark the story of the Rich Enquirer. In Matthew he is told that if he obeys the Ten Commandments, plus the new commandment of love, he shall have eternal life. If he would "be perfect" he may go on to give all his goods to feed the poor and take the road of martyrdom. This is bald neo-legalism. In the earlier, Markan form the story is strikingly different. The enquirer is told that observance of the commandments is *not* enough. One does *not* so obtain eternal life; for true "goodness" belongs to God alone. Whoso would follow the Son of God to his heavenly seat must renounce all and take the path of martyrdom with Jesus and the Twelve. Jesus looks indeed with affection on one who from childhood has obeyed the precepts, but only self-dedication to the way of the cross gives eternal life. Every man, rich or poor, renounces all. Mark knows no other gospel than this: "He who would save his life shall lose it." Life through death, after the example of the Son of God. That is Mark's gospel, and it is in the broad sense Pauline, however lacking in the subtler traits of Paulinism.

One of the most generous appreciators of Jesus whom the liberal Synagogue has ever produced declares the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels to be "inspired by an ideal and heroic spirit" lacking to the sayings of the Rabbis, however admirable.[5] This "ideal and heroic spirit" is the special contribution of the Gospel of Mark. It is this evangelist who sums up the example of Jesus in the parallel to Paul's description of the "mind of Christ": "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom instead of many." It is this Gospel which reports as Jesus' summary of all moral and religious obligation: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all

[5] C. G. Montefiore. *Synoptic Gospels*, p. cv.

thy mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." Subtract Mark from the Synoptic tradition and you will be surprised to find how little of the "heroic spirit" remains.

It might, perhaps, seem un-Pauline that Mark has so little to say about the resurrection. The story of the empty tomb, unfinished in the authentic text, is completely different from the apostolic resurrection gospel reported by Paul. It would seem to have been attached after the close of an earlier form of the Gospel which ended with the centurion's testimony: "Surely this was a Son of God." The later Gospels give little more, and all follow the lead of Mark rather than Paul. But there is a special reason for the omission. It was not the province of the mere teacher to bear witness to the resurrection. That was the work of the Apostle. The resurrection could be presupposed as something with which every convert was familiar. In relating the sayings and doings of the Lord the catechist might take it for granted. In relating the earthly life of Jesus he could only point forward prophetically to his exaltation and the outpouring of the Spirit. His record, if limited to what Jesus began to do and to teach, might for this reason appropriately close with the centurion's word.

As an example of this "forward pointing" let us take the story of Jesus' baptism by John which falls in a sense outside the strict province of the evangelist. The Christian teacher will not pass it by. But he may well give his narrative such a form as will most clearly indicate to the convert the ideal of Christian baptism. Only Matthew tells how the latter was instituted. But Mark attains the same practical object by so describing the baptism of Jesus as to bring out its relation to John's baptism of repentance. John himself in the story is made to predict the coming baptism of the

Spirit, while Jesus' experience is so described as to show that its supreme significance lies in the descent and indwelling of the Spirit of Adoption which fills all Christians with the powers of the new Messianic age. One can hardly imagine the Christian catechist telling the story of the baptism of Jesus without this special practical interest. It might be beyond his province to relate the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit; but he would be very apt to introduce an allusion to this in the form of the promise: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost," which in Mk. 1:8 is inserted as a prophecy of John the Baptist, but in the Second Source is more credibly attributed to Jesus.

The catechist would find means also, no doubt, in his narrative of Jesus' self-dedication to the cross, to make it clear that the death which he was ready to undergo, and which he called upon his followers to face with Him, was not to be defeat but victory. We expect the evangelist to accompany his story of the revelation of the mystery of the cross, with a prophetic foreshadowing of the resurrection. This he really does by a method which we shall examine presently. But we take him beyond his province if we expect him to continue his story in a way to include the experience of the apostolic witnesses. The most that can be expected of a teacher, or catechist, whose province is to tell the story of Jesus' earthly ministry, is that he will tell it *as one who knows* what came after, and who therefore interprets its significance in the light of the resurrection glory. Certainly none of our evangelists falls short in this respect. Indeed when we look at the Roman Gospel which became so completely the standard for this whole class of literature that no other considerable record of Jesus' activity survives,— when we see how the material has been selected, and what motive controls the elaboration, it will be perfectly apparent that we

have in Mark not a biography, not a history, but a selection of anecdotes; and even this selection is made for purposes not of history but of edification. There is even something like the converse of that process of double translation which I have attributed to Paul. Instead of a translation of the story into Hellenistic forms of thought and language, we now have the Pauline conceptions translated into Jewish forms of thought and language and read back into the story. The vision and Voice from Heaven which interpret the significance of Jesus' baptism, and the corresponding vision and Voice from Heaven which interpret the significance of his martyr death, are examples of this process of carrying back the later-understood values into the primary story. And the method is one which every Jewish scholar will recognize as embodying the classical forms of religious teaching as practiced in the Synagogue, under the name of *midrash,* i. e., "exposition," a method adapted to men whose abstract reasoning is in the mythopoeic stage. *Haggada,* or edifying exposition, gets its very name from *nagid,* "to tell a story." We shall see presently that the two examples already cited stand by no means alone in the process by which the experience of Peter is related in such a way as to give it religious values which were really the discovery of Paul.

The Gospel of Mark, early as it is, really represents an advanced stage in this process of adaptation for pragmatic purposes, πρὸς τὰς χρείας, as Papias expresses it. And the values which its collection of preachers' anecdotes is framed to exhibit are in marked degree the values of the Pauline gospel; not indeed in Pauline language, for, as we have seen, the material is of Palestinian, Aramaic derivation. Not in the finer, deeper, more mystical elements of Paul's individual religious experience, but in the elements which his converts most readily absorbed, when they declared, "I am of Paul,"

"I am saved by my faith," "We are not under law, but under grace," "We die with Christ, that we may be raised together with him." "As many as are led by the Spirit are sons of God." "He that hath faith moveth mountains."

For this more commonplace, work-a-day type of Paulinism, I have proposed to use the term "Paulinistic" rather than "Pauline." I need not dwell upon the Paulinistic sense in which the Gospel of Mark makes use of Petrine tradition of the story of Jesus, because in other writings I have already tried to make this clear. As we know, this Gospel passes over entirely all that precedes the baptism of Jesus, making his divine sonship begin with his baptism and endowment with the powers of the Spirit of Adoption, just as all Christians undergo the same experience in degree and part. It does not even mention his Davidic descent, though Paul himself refers to it. Instead it introduces later (12: 35–37) a special section in which Jesus argues from the 110th Psalm that Davidic descent is needless, because the Messiah is really manifested as such with power by an exaltation to the heavenly throne. The dependent Gospels of Luke and Matthew supply in mutually inconsistent ways this initial defect of the Roman Gospel, by what we call the Infancy chapters, combining the claim of Davidic descent with a later legend of supernatural birth.

The Gospel of Mark has been understood from the earliest times (and doubtless to some extent justly understood) to be composed of anecdotes derived from the preaching of Peter. We should naturally expect it to present Peter in a favorable light. On the contrary it never mentions Peter individually except to make him the target for severe rebuke, and an example of the callousness and "hardness of heart" (πώρωσις) which are shared even by the Twelve with Israel as a whole.

In the Revelation of the Mystery of the Cross which opens the second part of the Gospel Peter actually becomes the mouthpiece of Satan by his protest against the fundamental doctrine of Paulinism. Even at the end of the narrative Peter still remains under the cloud of desertion in the face of the enemy. He stands the conspicuous example of vain-glorious boasting, "though all should forsake thee, yet will not I," followed by collapse before the challenge of a maid-servant. So is it with the other "pillar-apostles." James and John are introduced in 10:39 as the martyr "sons of Zebedee"; but they play no individual part in the Gospel save for this rebuke of their selfish ambition for superior places in the Kingdom. John by himself alone comes to the front but once. It is to meet rebuke for narrow intolerance. The kindred of the Lord, who played so conspicuous a part in the Jerusalem caliphate, have two appearances in the Gospel of Mark. The first is their attempt to arrest Jesus in his work, when they are renounced in favor of Jesus' spiritual kin "that do the will of God." The second is when at Nazareth they appear among those who refuse to believe a prophet in his own home. Naturally both Luke and Matthew cancel both these reflections on the revered *desposyni*.

We cannot doubt that the Gospel of Mark comes from a really early period, when material was relatively abundant. Since it is not possible to imagine that there was nothing at the compiler's disposal in the way of anecdotes about Peter, James and John, and the kindred of the Lord, which did not place them in the attitude of examples to be avoided, we are almost forced to recognize a certain hostility to the pretensions of the Jerusalem caliphate.

In addition to this we find this Gospel introducing but a single full example of Jesus' preaching in Galilee, and this an adaptation of a group of parables to the

theme of the hiding of the mystery of the kingdom from Israel as a whole as unworthy. According to Mark the parabolic method of teaching was adopted by Jesus in order to conceal his message from all but a select few of his spiritual kin, while the rest of the Jews are "hardened." It is impossible here to overlook the connection with the Pauline doctrine expounded in the great apologetic on the "hardening of Israel" in Rom. 8–11. Mark adopts the idea of the "hardening" (πωρώσις), the "spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear," but he applies it specifically to the teaching in parables (Rom. 11:8; cf. Is. 6:9 quoted in Mk. 4:12).

There is a very general disposition among critics to admit *some* Paulinistic influence in this section of Mark. What men fail to see, however, is that the whole Gospel is composed from a Paulinistic point of view. The only great discourses of Jesus are denunciatory of the Jewish nation. The Jewish law and Jewish observances *never* come into view but to be rejected by Jesus as a "vain worship," "precepts and ordinances of men," contrary to what God enjoined in the very creation. Jesus overrides the Sabbaths, disregards the fasts and ablutions, and declares all meats clean, abolishing the Mosaic distinctions. The scribes whom he denounces call him an agent of Beelzebub. The Pharisees, in company with "all the Jews," are described by the evangelist as addicted to a religion of outward form, Jesus speaks of them as "hypocrites"; they conspire with the Herodians to put him to death. In Luke and Matthew much of this is of course retained. But in the later Gospels there is discrimination. Jesus opposes not Judaism as such, but the particular classes who misrepresent it, not the Law of Moses, but the false interpretation of it. Mark, like the fourth evangelist, speaks of "the Jews," and Judaism in general, as re-

nounced by Jesus, and contrasts what Moses commanded for the hardness of Israel's heart with "the commandment of God."

All this is recalled only to show that while we undoubtedly have in Mark the oldest form of that Aramaic, Palestinian, tradition which all Christian antiquity associates with the preaching of Peter, and which we call "Petrine" in this sense, nevertheless the selection of material, and the mode of presentation, are not only anti-Jewish, but anti-Jewish-Christian. They are not to any great extent Pauline in language or in the finer shades of the Apostle's thought, but they are "Paulinistic" in their whole structure and adaptation.

Our interpretation of Synoptic literature in general cannot afford to ignore this Paulinistic character of Mark; because admittedly Mark is the foundation of the whole Synoptic narrative, and therefore gives us practically all we know about the historical Jesus. This fundamental source, as we now see it, groups its material around the same two foci which we have seen are central to the thought of Paul.

Mark's story of the Galilean ministry is an account of Jesus' baptism and exercise of the gifts of the Spirit. Opposition by the scribes leads to his rejection of Jewish legalism, but the Twelve receive from him the "mystery of the kingdom" and the wonder-working power of faith, and are by degrees emancipated from their Jewish "hardness of heart." Mark even relates at the close of the Galilean ministry a mission of Jesus to the Gentiles, which must, of course, be regarded as unhistorical; but not so much because both later Synoptists cancel it, as because it anticipates both the work of Paul and the opposition Paul encountered from the legalists. At all events it is subordinate to the principal theme.

The second focus is the Supper. The story of the Jerusalem ministry starts with the revelation of the

mystery of the cross and resurrection as the real goal of Messiah's work, leading up to the "three days" as the climax. It relates such anecdotes, and only such, as have a direct bearing on this sacrifice as the ground of salvation. But Peter, James and John lag here even more than in the first half behind the mind of Christ.

The reader is left at last looking forward to the predicted resurrection, but without actual narration of it, a defect which the later evangelists seek to remedy in ways which agree neither with one another nor with Paul. But this phenomenon has an explanation of its own.

Such a selection of narratives from the story of Jesus out of the rich abundance which must have been in early circulation, and such an application, could hardly have been made in circles where the highest reverence was paid to Peter and the Twelve. It bespeaks a church already grounded in the leading principles of the gospel of Paul, but impelled by the same necessity which led Paul to emphasize the moral nature of the Christian's mystic union with his Savior-god to fall back upon the life and teaching of Jesus as its ideal and standard. The church whose type of teaching is here reflected has small appreciation of the great ethical and religious discourses of Jesus. It thinks of him less as rabbi than as martyr, and it heartily believes that eternal life comes only by self-dedication to death with this "Christ." It holds before many eyes, as Paul did, Christ crucified, a Jesus who teaches less by word than by example. For the Church already feels the need of being taught through surviving anecdotes from Jesus' life, in particular the lessons implied in its own ordinances of baptism and the Supper.

We shall see that this increasing emphasis on the moral aspect of the story tends to greater and greater use in later Gospels of a Second or Teaching Source, of

whose origin we have no information whatsoever; for the alleged tradition describing its contents as "logia," and connecting with it the name of "Matthew" refers to nothing else than our own canonical Matthew. As referred to the Second Source it dates back, as Dr. Salmon caustically remarked, no further than the nineteenth century. This Second Source makes no special reference to Peter. Indeed we should rather infer from its character, and from the way in which it is subordinated to Mark in the treatment accorded it by Luke and Matthew, that it comes from some author outside the number of the Twelve. What was the nature of this Second, or Teaching Source? What was its view-point in setting forth the character of Jesus; and how far can we rely upon its witness as a faithful record of the Master's utterance? These are questions for our consideration hereafter. For the present we limit ourselves to the narratives associated with the name of Peter, among which, if anywhere, we must find the most authentic materials for supplementing the meager outline derivable from the allusions of Paul. We shall see that here, too, the doctrine is Paul's, though given in the name and under the authority of Peter.

3. *Pauline Teaching in the Name of Peter*

I have already said that the employment of the name and traditions of Peter in the post-Pauline period as a vehicle for ideas which in their origin are distinctively Paul's is a phenomenon by no means confined to the Gospel of Mark. On the contrary, until the name of "John" is advanced at a period certainly subsequent to the appearance of the Apocalypse under this pseudonym, and probably as a consequence of it, the name of "Peter" serves as the guarantee for all apostolic tradition. In the Pauline churches of Italy and Asia Minor "apostolic" doctrine would of course in all es-

sential features be distinctively Pauline, however it might seek sanction under the growing authority of "Peter."

We could not have a better example of the extension of the Petrine protectorate after the death of Paul than the great word of encouragement sent apparently from Rome but in the name of Peter to the suffering Churches of the Anatolian peninsula in the midst of the fiery persecution of Domitian. The Epistle known to us as First Peter encourages these Anatolian Christians to stand fast, and assures them that the gospel they had received from Paul is "the true grace of God." The date and place of origin of First Peter cannot be far (if the prevailing judgment of critics be correct) from our Gospel of Mark. As Harnack points out, if we were to cut off the first single word of the writing, just the name "Peter," no one would ever dream of attributing it to this Apostle. It purports to be from Peter, and always did; for the attempt of Harnack to make it appear that the name "Peter" is a later interpolation breaks down entirely before the overwhelming evidence both external and internal. The name "Peter" is original, but assumed. The writer is a Paulinist if ever there was one. So much so that one eminent German critic proposes to regard the writing as by the same author as Ephesians, the material of which is constantly employed. I am by no means ready to admit that Ephesians is deutero-Pauline; but First Peter is so unmistakably so that even Zahn proposes to regard it as owing at least its phraseology to Silvanus. Mark, as we remember, appears in this writing as Peter's spiritual "son."

An equally cogent example of the incorporation of Paulinism under patronage of Peter is the first half of the narrative of Acts, covering that portion of the work which appears to have been translated from the Ara-

maic, and in which the hero and central authority is Peter. Notoriously we have in this narrative a kind of duplication of everything that had been related of Paul in the earlier Greek narrative which has been incorporated in the second half of the book. This second half of Acts is the more authentic; for it is based upon a contemporary document, and not only has ample corroboration in its main features in the Pauline epistles, but in its intrinsic characteristics is much less tinctured with legendary features. The dependence and adjustment necessary to produce the parallelism must, then, be on the side of First Acts, the document of which Peter is the hero, and which extends to 15:33, with some additions from other sources. It is certainly not historical when here the entire work of Paul is anticipated by Peter. We certainly cannot agree when Acts 15:7 makes Peter declare that God chose him to be the Apostle to the Gentiles. But under what standard were the Pauline Churches to come after Paul's death; if not that of the older Apostles? Through no other authority than Peter could they relate themselves to the historic Christ. In Acts the process is particularly conspicuous in the story of the conversion of Cornelius at Caesarea (a parallel to Paul's conversion of the proconsul at Paphos) and Peter's subsequent defense of his conduct in disregarding the Mosaic distinctions, even to the point of "eating with the Gentiles." A conclave at Jerusalem after reviewing his conduct and the divine sanction it had received, pronounces upon the whole transaction the verdict: "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life." This of course anticipates all Paul's conflict on their behalf. When we read in Galatians of the obstacles put in Paul's path, and the opposition *from Peter himself* in refusing to "eat with the Gentiles"— when we remember the long struggle through which Paul ob-

tained from these same Jerusalem authorities the concession of only a part of what is here declared to have been publicly and officially conceded to Peter *before Paul's first missionary journey,* it is apparent that the narrator is getting ahead of the facts. In his story the whole battle of Gentile freedom from the law, including the abolition of all distinctions of meats as merely man-made ("what God hath cleansed make not thou 'common'"), and the sweeping recognition that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him" is carried to a victorious conclusion by Peter officially and publicly in Jerusalem, before Paul appears upon the scene, or has so much as approached a single Gentile. How then could it have had to be fought all over again by Paul with far less decisive results, and failure by his own acknowledgment to win over Peter himself? There is here, then, most undeniably, a Paulinization of Peter. The writer of this Aramaic source, incorporated by the compiler of Acts, is doing in his own way what the writer of First Peter does. He is attributing to Peter, as head of the apostolic college and chief source of authority for the age in which he writes, ideas which for that age, and for the compiler, are indeed axiomatic; but which in point of fact were with difficulty driven home by Paul upon the older Apostles, and to some extent were really resisted to the end by the actual historical Peter of whom Paul tells.

Acts gives more than a mere precedent for the process which I have spoken of as affecting the Gospel of Mark. Both writers use the same Paulinized tradition of Peter. In the case of Mark also, as well as Acts, the process is antecedent to the evangelist's own work; for it is just as certain that Mark himself has not composed, but simply incorporated, the Transfiguration story (to take

the salient example) as it is that "Luke" has not composed, but incorporated, the story of Peter's revelation of the abolition of the Mosaic distinctions of meats in the vision of Joppa. The process is older in both cases than the compilation of the present Greek work. In fact it would probably be possible to establish on linguistic grounds that in both cases the source was Aramaic. But in both cases it is certainly later than the time of Paul. For during the life-time of the two Apostles it would be impossible to attribute to Peter a divine revelation teaching him that his reluctance to partake of anything "common" or unclean was a man-made obstacle to the divine purpose, that there is no distinction with God between Jews and Gentiles, and that he ought to have no hesitation about entering in to men uncircumcised and eating with them. Only after the death of the great Apostles could the representation become current. For we know that Paul was driven to resist Peter publicly to his face because Peter and all the Jews at Antioch, including "even Barnabas," stood for the very things here rejected by divine authority.

In like manner it could only be after the death of both Paul and Peter that men would come to represent "Peter and those that were with him" in "the holy mount" receiving their apostleship of the new covenant in terms which under the forms of Jewish midrash are an equivalent for Paul's great exposition of the revelation given to "ministers of the new covenant" in II Cor. 3:1–6:10.

It need not necessarily be the very same document that has afforded to the author of Acts his story of the vision and Voice from Heaven by which Peter is divinely taught the lesson so hardly learned from Paul at Antioch, and to the author of Mark his story of the vision and Voice from Heaven by which the pillar

Apostles [6] are taught the Pauline gospel of the mystery of the cross. We know of many very early writings which purported to give the "Preaching" or "Teaching," or "Revelation of Peter." It is possible that two different documents might contain representations of divine revelation to Peter on the salient points of Pauline doctrine which are as closely akin as the Transfiguration story of the Gospels and the vision at Joppa in Acts. The point at issue is not a question of particular documents and sources, but of the process by which after the death of Peter and Paul the Aramaic-speaking branch of the Church endeavored to infuse Petrine tradition with the religious values of Paul's teaching; just as conversely Paul's churches at Rome and throughout the Greek-speaking world inevitably turned to the older Apostles as authorities for the authentic faith. So Polycarp and Papias urge return to the "tradition handed down to us from the very first"; as the only possible bulwark against the heretics who are "perverting the precepts of the Lord to their own lusts." Polycarp and Papias are not Jewish-Christians. They simply continue the inevitable reaction already conspicuous in the Pastoral Epistles, a reaction which could not do otherwise than appeal to the name of Peter in support of "the true grace of God" which it had actually learned from Paul. That the process has affected our Gospel of Mark, and by this means our entire record of the life of Jesus seems to me an undeniable fact, and one of obvious importance.

Many, I know, will resist to the utmost the suggestion that the authentic story of Peter can have suffered any infiltration of Pauline ideas in the form of midrash, or homiletic exposition. They consider that the admis-

[6] "James" in the trio of witnesses of the transfiguration is of course a different James from the "James and Cephas and John" who endorsed the gospel of Paul in 47 A. D. in Jerusalem, but confusion of the two James goes back to a very early period.

sion of such an idealizing factor, especially in narratives such as the visions at the baptism of Jesus and in the Mount of Transfiguration, endangers the historical credibility of the whole record. My own sincere conviction is that the ultimate result of such critical discrimination will be just the contrary. It is the refusal to discriminate between the record itself, and parabolic attempts to bring out the religious values of the record, which makes the mass as a whole historically inadmissible, and practically unintelligible to the modern western mind. It is as if in reading the Talmud we should insist upon combining with the text the edifying commentary and application, which in the original are printed in small type round about the text in the margin and at the foot of the page. Discrimination of the historical record in the Gospels from edifying pulpit exposition and application is indispensable. It should be made by scholars familiar with the conventional Synagogue forms, since the tradition has been transmitted through the Christianized Synagogue. Genuine appreciation of both elements, on the one side the actual course of events, on the other the primitive religious evaluation, will bring us closer than ever before to the actual Jesus of Nazareth, and the real impress of his spirit upon the souls of men.

But for the sake of those who are reluctant to believe in the alleged process of the infusion of Petrine tradition with Pauline doctrine by methods similar to the haggadic teaching of the Synagogue, let me suggest two comparisons. First, a comparison of the exact process taking place, as it were under our very eyes, between the time of the appearance of Mark's Gospel, and the incorporation of its narrative in the later, Palestinian Gospel of Matthew. The later Gospel has three additions to the Markan story, all bearing, as competent authorities admit, decisive marks of Jewish

midrash, that is, elaboration by the use of symbolic imagination. They are (1) Peter's Walking on the Sea, (2) Peter's Ordination to Bind and Loose, (3) Peter's Payment of the Temple Tax. The story of Jesus' Walking on the Sea in Mk. 6:45–52 has a supplement in Mt. 14:28–33 which further draws out the parallel; for in Jewish symbolism power to tread upon the sea, or triumph over it, signifies victory over the power of Sheol. In Matthew we find an allegorizing parallel to Peter's offer to go with Jesus to prison and death, the collapse of his faith in the crisis of the night of betrayal, his restoration by the personal intervention of the risen Christ, and finally his stablishing of his brethren by faith in Jesus as a risen Lord. All this is compressed into a brief and telling addition to Mark. The addition relates how when Peter saw Jesus walking on the sea he sought to follow him over the waves, how he lost faith when he saw the storm was boisterous, but was rescued by the Master's extended hand, and returned with him to the frightened, despairing company in the boat, who now exclaim: "Truly thou art the Son of God." This seems to me a typical example of that kind of homiletic expansion of sacred story with symbolic detail which the Synagogue designates midrash.

A second Matthean supplement improves upon Mark's story of Peter's confession of the Christ by adding a parallel to what Paul says of the revelation of God's Son in him, not by flesh and blood, but as an apostleship from God. In Mt. 16:16b–19 the Markan account of Peter's confession is emended by adding the words "the Son of the living God" to "the Christ," and by attaching a counter declaration from Jesus that Peter's utterance is a revelation "not from flesh and blood, but from my Father which is in Heaven." Jesus thereupon pronounces Peter the Rock on which His

Church is to be founded, assuring it of victory over the imprisoning powers of darkness. He also formally entrusts Peter with the authority to determine for it what is obligatory and what is not. Peter, by virtue of the revelation of the Son granted him by the Father is thus equipped with authority to speak for the whole Church. He represents Christ and the Apostles in the same manner as the scribes who "sit in Moses' seat" have authority "to bind and loose" with respect to the precepts of Moses. Of course this is a late addendum to gospel tradition, though quite authentic in the text of Matthew. For it is not an interpolation in the interest of Rome, as Julius Grill and a few anti-Romanists would make out. Rome has nothing to do with the evangelist's idea. His horizon for the seat of apostolic authority is strictly limited to "the cities of Israel." We are here at an earlier stage. The connection of the name of Peter with Rome is a later development, growing out of the First Epistle and the circumstances of Peter's martyrdom. The passage of Matthew is as Palestinian and as early as the composition of the rest of that Gospel; but it is certainly later than the Gospel of Mark which it supplements. Still more certainly must it be later than Paul's defense of his own authority as an Apostle, through the revelation of God's Son in him; for the addition borrows the very language of Gal. 1:16, and its whole motive is to give to Peter's apostleship a divine authority at least equal to that claimed by Paul.

A third example of supplementation of Matthew in the same interest follows in the next chapter. The story of the Coin in the Fish's Mouth is a characteristic "edifying tale" (haggada) of Jewish midrash, belonging to the same type as those of the Old Testament which are expressly so-called, or (as in the case of Jonah) are left to the common-sense of the reader to

be understood as representing not fact but truth. The object of Matthew's story is to resolve the perplexing question of Christian Freedom and the Giving of Offense. It uses the phraseology of Paul ("lest we cause them to stumble"). It even applies Paul's principle of refraining from the use of a liberty to which as followers of Jesus we are entitled out of consideration for others. In this case, however, the "others" are not the scrupulous "weak brethren" of the Pauline churches who said "I am of Cephas." They are not Jewish Christians, but actual Jews. Those who make the concession to avoid "stumbling" represent the Jewish church in Palestine, under the leadership of Peter, who here appears again as representative of the Apostles and steward of Christ. The decision is to pay the temple-tax, from which Christian Jews might fairly claim exemption, in order to prove their continuing loyalty to the ancient faith. This supplement also seems to me a manifest example of the process I have designated the Paulinization of Petrine tradition. Just as in the two preceding instances a supplementary anecdote has been grafted upon the stock of Mark by Jewish-Christian hands at a period later than our form of the work.[7]

[7] On the "Petrine Supplements of Mark's Gospel" see the article of this title in *Expositor* VIII, 73 (Jan., 1917). The Lukan Gospel also contains some admirable examples of midrashic elaboration of Mark. The Miraculous Draft of Fishes (Lk. 5: 1–11) is a typical instance, in which the figure of Peter assumes the same prominence as in the Matthean. More beautiful is the contrasted utterance of the Two Thieves (Lk. 23: 39–43). He who represents the bitter disillusionment of the mass of Israel "railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? Then save thyself and us," a parallel to the challenge of Satan in the second Temptation. The other replies in language expressive of the penitent faith of the believing "remnant": "Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom." Midrashic development of the canonical material goes on even in the post-canonical Gospels. Of this character is the supplementation of the story of the Rich Enquirer in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* to show that his

If any of my hearers are still unconvinced of the reality of the process I allege of an infiltration of Pauline ideas into the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus derived from Peter in the period after the death of the two great Apostles, I would commend to them, besides the examples I have cited from Matthew, a close and careful study, which I think will prove independently rewarding, of the relation of the two interpretative vision-stories of Mark, the Baptism, and the Transfiguration, with their Pauline equivalents. These are, as I have said, (1) Paul's definition of the elective decree of Adoption and its fulfillment in the indwelling of the Spirit in Jesus, in Col. 1: 13–20, (2) his account of the revelation of the glorified Son of God, which gives to the ministers of the new Covenant their gospel of reconciliation and immortality, as set forth in II Cor. 3–6 and kindred passages. Both these vision stories, or "revelations," are key-passages for our interpretation of the Gospel of Mark; for they are designedly so placed as to shed the light of Heaven upon all the earthly scenes which follow. But it is especially on the Transfiguration story that I would concentrate your attention, reminding you that for the evangelist no other method was so effective for making clear to his readers the contrast between a Christ according to the things of men, such as Peter had confessed, and the other-

claim to have fulfilled the law was unwarranted, and that of the healing of the man with the Withered Hand. The same is true again of the addition in the same Gospel to the parable of the Talents of a fourth servant who squandered his Lord's substance with flute-players and harlots, and paid the penalty. Clement's "myth, if indeed it be a myth," of a young man "restored from the dead" by the aged Apostle John is a still later example of the use of this favorite parable of the Prodigal Son in Christian midrash, or, as Clement ventures to call it, "myth." Haggadic teaching, whether Jewish or Christian, has no restrictions in the use of fiction save that it bring home the religious or moral truth intended. Its one rule is: "Let all things be done unto edification."

worldly messiahship set forth in Jesus' rebuke. I would also remind you that the doctrine of immortality through "transfiguration" (μεταμόρφωσις) into the "image" or "likeness" of the "body of glory" of the risen Christ, so that the exchange of that "house from heaven" for earthly "tabernacles" would be the height of folly, is not a doctrine which Paul learned from Peter, but that it belongs to the most vital and intimate elements of Paul's own transcendent experience. The Transfiguration story aims to show how Peter and his companion Apostles were brought to see that their conception of a Christ according to the things that be of men was false, that the Son of God belongs essentially to the world of the glorified, and that the goal of immortality involves an exchange of this "tabernacle" for the "transfigured body." Its very phraseology belongs to that part of Paul's vocabulary in which he borrows most largely from the modes of thought and expression of the mysteries. It is impossible, therefore, in this case to reverse the relation. It is as completely a Paulinized Peter here as in the Second Epistle, who talks about a "putting off of the 'tabernacle' of the flesh," and shows his Jewish "hardness of heart" by wishing to provide "tabernacles" for the glorified ones, as though it were for them to come and dwell in "tenements of clay" with men upon the earth.

On the other hand a much greater task awaits those of us who are convinced that we must discriminate in the Gospels between record and interpretation. We hold in particular that these two key-narratives of vision and Voice from Heaven, prefacing the two main divisions of the story of Mark, represent the work of some early Christian haggadist laboring to infuse the tradition of Peter with meanings really derived from Paul, just as in the story of the vision at Joppa Peter receives by revelation the doctrine that distinctions of

Jew and Gentile, clean and unclean, are not of God, but of man. If so we must learn to appreciate these midrashic elements at their true value. Our task is not destructive but constructive. We cannot simply take away the interpretation in terms of religious values which Paul has first put upon the career of Jesus, and after him some early teacher of the Christian synagogue has embodied in symbolic story, leaving the record without an interpretation. We are not historical critics for criticism's sake; else we should not be applying its processes to a record which if it have not values for the history, psychology, and philosophy of religion has no value at all. We cannot leave a mere void in place of the interpretation which the evangelist has put upon the story of how Jesus came to the baptism of John and there dedicated himself to the reconciliation of wayward Israel to its Father in Heaven by the path of repentance and faith in the coming kingdom. In the Transfiguration vision the evangelist interprets in terms of apocalyptic symbolism what it means to religion that Jesus again dedicated himself, after his first effort had failed, to seek as Son of David and Son of Man reconciliation with God and realization of the kingdom. If we do not accept his interpretation we remain debtors for a better. A learned Jewish writer who attempts to answer the noble work of Montefiore to which I have referred declares that Jesus was not a prophet because he "preached about the coming of the kingdom, but in vain" (!) The objector seems to think the great Old Testament prophets, such as Jeremiah, scored an immediate popular success. We, on the contrary, are convinced that Jesus neither preached in vain, nor suffered in vain. Nevertheless we are not limited to the attempts of Paul, or the age after Paul, to interpret the story sub specie eternitatis. There is ever room for new evaluations of the record in terms of the modern

history, psychology, and philosophy of religion. It will be interesting to see if the modern constructive theologian can do as well for our time as Paul and his followers did for theirs.

It would appear from the foregoing that the Petrine tradition of the Sayings and Doings of Jesus comes down to us only from a period after the death of the great Apostles, and in a form affected not only by the reaction of the Greek-speaking churches of the West toward the authoritative testimony of the eye and ear-witnesses, but also by a doctrinal infiltration from the Pauline side. Are we thus impoverished in the material available for our religious faith? Quite the contrary. The true basis of our faith is not the bare record of Jesus' words and deeds, but what God wrought through him, both in his earthly career, and in the reaction to it of men like Paul. It includes the effort of the generation after Paul to combine the values of what Paul had seen, using the eye of the spirit, with what the older witnesses had seen with the eye of the flesh. Would it be easier, think you, or harder — would it require less discrimination, or more, to extract those elements of the story which have permanent meaning for our own religious life, if we possessed on phonographic plates and photographic films a complete record of all the thirty years of Jesus' life? Selective discrimination must be our guide, as with all the generations past, including the evangelists themselves. And when we have discriminated record from interpretation, historical occurrence from pragmatic application, we shall not be worse off than before, but better. We shall see at the one extreme in this post-apostolic age a radical wing of ultra-Paulinists, endeavoring to interpret the Incarnation and Resurrection in terms of the mystery myths of personal immortality by participation in the divine nature. We shall see at the other extreme a re-

actionary Jewish-Christian wing, who would interpret it in terms of Jewish Law and Apocalypse. We shall see between these two extremes the central body of the Church driven by dangers without and within into a rapprochement between "those of Peter" and "those of Paul" of which First Peter is the first great irenicon. We shall see this central body feeling its way little by little to a faith which retains the values from both sides that are practically approved, and leaving the result to future generations.

To return, then, to the Gospel of Mark. We have here, it would seem, a Roman compend of the sayings and doings of Jesus, gathered from the anecdotes of those who had seen and heard the Lord. The reminiscences are turned to account that those who sought forgiveness for the sake of the Crucified might know what was meant by the offering of his body and blood, and that those who dedicated themselves in penitence and faith might understand what was meant by new life in his spirit. Suppose that when we had subtracted from the record those elements which the critic must regard as belonging rather to the interpretation than to the record itself, nothing more were left than could already be inferred from Paul's own incidental references. Still we should have enough. We should know of one Leader in the history of man's quest for the life of God, whose ideal was all that the loftiest aspiration can conceive, a gospel of reconciliation of man to man and man to God. We should have at the same time the portrait of One whose loyalty to that ideal knew no shade of reserve, no taint of self. We should know a Christ not after the flesh, but Son of God and Son of Man. But thank God that there is much more than this. As Dr. Morgan admits: "The risen Christ of Paul represents a generalized picture of the historical Jesus. The central and the new fill the horizon to the

overshadowing of much, the loss of which would have been an unspeakable calamity. In particular those features in Jesus which make him so real and so human pass out of sight. Paul's Christ has not the inexhaustible richness nor the human winsomeness of the historical figure." It is to this that the churches turned after the death of the Apostle, and as Dr. Morgan justly says: "The preservation of the Synoptic Gospels meant nothing less than the saving of Christianity." [8]

[8] *Religion and Theology of Paul*, p. 40.

LECTURE VII

THE GOSPEL AS LAW AND PROMISE

1. *Conditions of the Later Synoptic Period*

The period from which are derived the remaining elements of the Aramaic Enclave, the writings of Luke, the Gospel of Matthew, and the Apocalypse of John, is not more than a score of years earlier than the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. It is that of the Pastoral Epistles in their present form, an elaboration of authentic letters of Paul. James and Jude, encyclicals which address the Church at large in the name of two of the "desposyni," are best assigned to the same period, the closing decade of the first century; and even II Peter, later as it is, and dependent upon Jude, throws light upon the conditions of the age. All these epistolary writers are greatly concerned for the morals of the Church, threatened as in Paul's time, but more dangerously, by teachers of antinomian tendency.

The Hellenistic conception of fellowship with God is intellectual and mystical rather than moral, a participation in His omniscience and immortality by enlightenment, or ritual. The Church insists upon conduct. God's nature is beneficent goodness, toward which the road of fellowship lies open by dedication of the will to the fulfillment of His righteous commandment. This is the burden of the Johannine Epistles, which we consider in the next lecture. In II Peter the interest in ethics is extended to eschatology. It supplements the warning of Jude against the antinomians by adding a preliminary chapter on the certainty of the promise of glorification as guaranteed by the transfiguration vision,

and a closing chapter reaffirming the certainty and nearness of the predicted judgment. In I–III John, we have letters belonging to about the same date and region. These also strongly reflect the antinomian tendency, and oppose to it the new commandment of love. But the Epistles and Gospel of John take no such interest as Second Peter in the apocalyptic eschatology; or rather they concede a more Hellenistic view. They connect the heresy with the docetic doctrines denounced by Ignatius, and seek their remedy in worthier ideas of Jesus' life and teaching. Here, then, is a kind of bifurcation. In respect to the "denial of resurrection and judgment" the "Johannine" writings take one road, Second Peter and the Revelation quite another. But the dominant interest of the age is an easy one to define. The more immediate danger is from those who "pervert the oracles of the Lord to their own lusts.". Over against this antinomian tendency the current of orthodoxy is already setting strongly toward neo-legalism. In the Catholic Epistles the life and death struggle against incipient Gnosticism has already begun, but theoretic Gnosticism scarcely affects the Aramaic Enclave. The Church everywhere is laying fresh emphasis upon the nature of its gospel as a "new commandment," but with different sanctions. In the Aramaic Enclave the effort is not (as in Jn. and I–III Jn.) to present the gospel as a way of moral union with God, so much as to reënforce the authority of the new commandment by more positive declarations as to the coming Judgment and the reality and certainty of its rewards and punishments. Most conspicuously of all in the Palestinian Gospel (Matthew) the message is conceived as Law and Promise.

We have quoted from the epistle written by Polycarp in 112–118 to Paul's church in Philippi the warning against the false teachers who "pervert the 'oracles of

the Lord' to their own lusts and deny the resurrection and judgment." His later associate Papias at another Pauline church of Asia, Hierapolis, is still concerned with the same peril. Polycarp had advised to "turn to the tradition handed down to us from the beginning." Papias applied the advice in the very practical way of publishing a book of *Interpretations of the Oracles of the Lord.* His "oracles" were found in the Gospel of Matthew, with some additions from Mark. He sought to prove their true meaning as against Gnostic perversion by citing traditions of Palestinian Elders carefully authenticated. Papias' quest for "commandments (ἐντολαί) of the Lord" was earlier than 118. His publication is probably not earlier than 140. If, however, we look backward from Polycarp to the long letter of Clement written from Rome in 96, with its repeated reference to "sayings" (λόγοι; not λόγια —"oracles") of Jesus containing moral teaching, and to the Pastoral Epistles with their emphasis on "the healthful words, even the sayings (λόγοι) of our Lord Jesus" it will be quite apparent that a body of such teaching was current in the Church throughout this period. A new impetus was given to their circulation by the antinomian peril.

As is well known, the two later Synoptic writers, who cannot be far apart in date since both use the same two principal sources without any evidence of acquaintance with one another's work, employ in common as their "second" source a compilation of discourses of Jesus. This so-called Second Source constitutes in its surviving fragments our main dependence for his teaching. The work in its primary, Aramaic form is probably older than the canonical form of our Gospel of Mark, which seems to make a very limited use of it. Unfortunately we have little to guide us in determining its character and reliability. Besides the internal evidence there is only the manner in which the source is employed by our

evangelists. Tradition there is none, since no writer of antiquity so much as suspects its existence. The internal evidence of the Source is strongly in its favor; for its material is derived from the Aramaic, and in the sublimity of its moral and religious teaching, no less than in the character attributed to Jesus, it corresponds much more closely than Mark to the allusions of Paul. These traits incline us to give high respect to its witness. On the other hand our evangelists disregard its connections, and reject most of such narrative as it contained in favor of Mark. This is hardly compatible with belief in its apostolic origin. Moreover, its discourses differ widely from most of those in Mark, and are framed in a highly developed literary style resembling that of the Stoic diatribe, or still more nearly the better type of Jewish "Wisdom." These considerations make it difficult to regard the Second Source as composed by one of the Twelve. It cannot even be said to bear the marks of the eye-witness. Nevertheless it clearly and certainly reflects the spirit which Paul describes as "the mind that was in Christ Jesus." Indeed the predominant traits in its portrait are precisely that "meekness and lowliness" which Paul refers to; whereas, curiously, these particular traits are not even mentioned in the Gospel of Mark. In the pages of the Second Source we are probably nearer than in any other gospel writing to the actual teaching of Jesus, though even here we cannot depend on the precise words.

Supplementation of Mark's all too meager account of Jesus' teaching was sure to take place from this superb reserve. Indeed it seems to be the chief raison d'être of Matthew, if not of Luke also. As we have seen, the danger most acutely felt in this period was the tendency to moral laxity. "Commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith" were the supreme desideratum, and this conviction is the more strongly shown the nearer we

approach to the Jerusalem church with its body of "successors of the Apostles and kindred of the Lord." The epistles of James and Jude appear, to be sure, under fictitious names; but they are intended to reflect the spirit of this group of their successors in Jerusalem. The Epistle of James would make an excellent preface to the Second Source. Jude might serve a similar purpose with respect to Matthew. Mark fell into the background chiefly because it contained so few of the "commandments." But there was clear recognition of other defects also in the Roman Gospel, defects which could not be remedied from the Second Source, and therefore are met in totally different ways by Matthew and Luke, without any indication of literary connection, direct or indirect, between the two.

There was first Mark's beginning. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke, inconsistent as they are, of course represent a reversion to the primitive belief, attested by Paul but neglected by Mark, that Jesus was "of the seed of David according to the flesh." How to preserve this, and at the same time to hold to the higher conception of a spiritual birth after the Pauline teaching, was of course a problem. It could no longer be solved by the Markan method of a prologue to the Gospel describing under the form of vision the descent of the Spirit of Adoption, declaring Jesus the Beloved Son of God's "good pleasure," and enduing him with all the powers of the age to come. Heretics had already laid hold of this prologue and made it their own. Adoptionism (as it later came to be called) was the sheet anchor of Docetics like Cerinthus, who maintained that Jesus was a mere "receptacle of the Holy Spirit," a Christ who came by water (of baptism) only, and not by blood (of the sacrament of his suffering). To ensure both a continuous and unbroken full presence of the divine

Spirit in a real humanity no other way seemed open than that which our supplementers of Mark independently adopt. As Isaac was "God-begotten" by a word of promise,[1] so Jesus by special miracle had been "the Son of God" from his mother's womb.

Even more conspicuous than at the beginning was the need for supplementation at the end of Mark. The complete divergence of the later evangelists in their story from the moment they reach the point where the mutilated Mark breaks off, suggests that this mutilation had already occurred. It cannot have been accidental, but must be due to dissatisfaction with the story of the appearance to Peter "in Galilee." Whether the dissatisfaction was due to the doctrinal or the geographic representation we cannot say. We do know, however, that questions as to the nature of the resurrection body had been vehemently agitated between Jewish Christian and Greek Christian since Paul had written to the Corinthians. In this age of docetic heresy, as may readily be seen from the Ignatian Epistles, it was doubly urgent. What part the birth in real manhood from the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection in real "flesh" (ἀνάστασις τῆς σαρκός) has to play in this age of docetic heresy we may learn from its baptismal confession, commonly called the Apostles' Creed. Luke is more largely concerned in his supplements with the refutation of docetic heresy, Matthew with Jewish objections to the Markan story of the empty sepulchre. But these additions of the later evangelists at beginning and end of the Roman Gospel are principally of interest to the student of early apologetic. They tell us indirectly what was the course of debate over the nature of the body in which Jesus came into and went out of the world, but are of far less importance to the student of his life than the teaching

[1] Rom. 4: 16–21; 9: 6–9.

drawn by both North-Syrian and South-Syrian evangelist in common from their mysterious Second Source.

2. *The Teaching Source*

In the Gospel of Matthew the "double-tradition" material, or material shared with Luke though not derived from Mark and commonly designated Q, is nearly all consolidated into five books of precepts, the first of which, the so-called Sermon on the Mount, is familiar to us all. The narrative merely serves as an introduction to these, just as the Pentateuch narrative frames in the great discourses in which Moses presents the law. Each of the five books into which the substance of the Gospel is divided begins with such narrative, combining material from Mark and the Second Source in various proportion. Only in Book IV (Chapters 14–18) is the narrative introduction derived almost entirely from Mark. On the other hand nearly all the narrative introduction to Book III (Chapters 11–13) is from Q. Each of the five books of Matthew concludes with a stereotyped formula repeated from the end of the first book, where it had occurred in the Second Source. The borrowing and application of the formula proves this five-fold division to be really intended by the compiler; but the two chapters on the Infancy form a Prologue, and the story of the Passion and Resurrection in Chapters 26–28 an Epilogue. The evangelist has thus given us a five-fold book of the new Torah, which with Prologue and Epilogue contains seven divisions in all. In the second century the five-fold division seems to have been still observed; for a versified "argumentum," of a type characteristic of that age, celebrates Matthew's refutation "in five books" of the deicide people of the Jews.[2]

I cannot now take time to describe these five bodies

[2] See Bacon, *Expositor*, VIII, 85 (Jan., 1918).

of precepts of the Lord, the five Sermons (or *Pereqs,* as Sir John Hawkins has called them) of Matthew. Only the first, whose theme is The Righteousness of Sons, is wholly made up of Q material, not in its original order, but based on an original Q discourse expanded with other Q material. There are four others. That on The Duty of the Evangelist, occupies chapter 10, that on the Mystery of the Kingdom occupies verses 1–52 of chapter 13, that on The Duty of the Church Ruler occupies chapter 18, and that on The Final Judgment occupies chapters 23–25. These four are based on briefer discourses of Mark filled out with Q material. Three things prove the arrangement secondary. (1) The destruction of the order of the Second Source, even in the Sermon on the Mount, where no Markan pattern called for readjustment; (2) the use of a Markan basis for the other Sermons; (3) the incorporation of considerable masses of Q in the narrative introductions, particularly in chapters 3–4, and 11–12. These structural phenomena show that the present arrangement of Q in Matthew is not that of the source, but is due to our canonical evangelist, whose idea of the world's needs in this line is shown by his conclusion. The Apostles are sent to teach all men everywhere "to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Critics generally hold our own canonical evangelist responsible for the agglutination of diverse Q material in Matthew's version of the Sermon on The Righteousness of Sons, because in Luke it is referred to various more appropriate occasions. Unfortunately a large number of critics, perhaps the majority, have been misled by the mistaken idea that ancient tradition in some way connects the Second Source with the name of Matthew. They therefore take this late Gospel, constructed in the interest of a neo-legalistic type of Christianity, more or less as the model for their reconstructions. We

are even told that Q was not a gospel at all, but a mere agglutination of "oracles" (λόγια); that it contained few such anecdotes as Mark, and no account at all of the Passion and Resurrection. Still it is admitted that it began with a fuller account than Mark's of the Ministry of the Baptist, and of Jesus' Baptism and Temptation; that it included at least the anecdote of The Believing Centurion, besides others, which owing to their being also reported by Mark are not identifiable; and that its central theme was Israel's rejection of "the Son of Man." This is hard to reconcile with the theory of a mere collection of sayings. Indeed had it not been for this false connection with the Apostle Matthew more would doubtless have recognized that not the order only, but the whole spirit and purpose of this ancient gospel (for most emphatically it was a "gospel") are more nearly reflected in Luke than in Matthew. Had its structure been compared with the setting of the great discourses of Luke on Abiding Wealth (Lk. 12: 13–34), or Effectual Prayer (Lk. 11: 1–13; 18: 1–8), or those of Acts 1–7, our insight into its true nature and bearing on the portraiture of Jesus would be far clearer than is now the case.

The fact that our first evangelist subordinates this source to the Gospel of Mark for all narrative material, especially toward the close of the story, makes it impossible to determine what part, if any, of the narrative material peculiar to Luke is taken from it. Luke does diverge quite widely from Mark in narrative, especially in the Passion story, but as our recognition of Q depends on his coincidence with Matthew, and Matthew here fails, we lose our primary means of identification. Further inference can proceed on but two grounds: We may say: Matthew would have diverged along with Luke, if the Second Source had offered important material. This is the common mode of reasoning, and is

valid within certain limits. The other ground of reasoning, is that of internal affinities connecting double with single or triple-tradition material. The primary definition of Q is: "coincident material of Matthew and Luke not contained in Mark." The definition is certainly too narrow for the Source, which we might designate S. S was greater than Q because the Second Source undoubtedly contained some of the material which now appears only in Matthew or only in Luke (single-tradition), as well as some which appears in all three Synoptics (triple-tradition material) and thus eludes identification. Of course the attempt to identify this further content of S by affinity with the known elements is most precarious. Inference must be accompanied with a double ??. On the other hand it is quite wrong to act as if Q (double-tradition material) and the Second Source were the same thing. If we were to treat S and Q as geometrical areas and superimpose the one upon the other we should find the outline of each extending beyond that of the other at various points. Some of Q should probably not be included in S, and much, no doubt, that is not included in Q really should be; though identification is precarious.

Limiting ourselves to the admitted factors it is still possible from Q alone to define certain general characteristics of the Second Source which will greatly help us in our endeavor to place alongside the Petrine tradition of Mark an independent early estimate of the character and career of Jesus. As already intimated there is a decided difference. The Second Source will be found to coincide much more nearly than Mark with the conception of Paul, though Paul's also is an idealized portrait, in which the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah forms the background. I will mention but three features in this primitive Gospel's portraiture of Jesus:

its conception of Jesus' relation to the Baptist, its doctrine of faith, and its theory of the person and work of the Christ.

(1) It is only in Q that we gain any insight into the work of John the Baptist as a movement of independent significance. Were we to judge by the meager references of Mark, we should imagine this really mighty and epoch-making movement in the religious life of contemporary Judaism as a mere preliminary to Christianity. For Mark as for the late Ephesian evangelist the Baptist has no significance in himself. He is a mere anointer of the Christ sent solely to draw attention to him. We should have learned a truer valuation from the question put by Jesus to the delegation from the Sanhedrin concerning John, if not from Josephus, and from the later history of the Baptist sects. Unlike Mark, in Q full credit is given to the Baptism of John as the supreme "sign of the times." It forms a parallel in Israel to the appearance of Jonah with his message of warning to the Ninevites. It is an even more fateful sign, because Nineveh repented, whereas Israel did not. In Q Jesus declares John the greatest born of women, more than a prophet, because he stands like the promised Elijah at the threshold of the coming Kingdom, turning the heart of Israel back again in the "great repentance" before the end, and thus "preparing the way" for the coming of Jehovah.[3] In this Source he expressly characterizes the work of John as a "way of justification" which the publicans and sinners welcomed by repentance and faith, when the self-righteous did not even repent themselves after they saw the sign. On the other hand this source, unlike Mark, represents John as unconscious of the mission of his great disciple. John hears of Jesus' work of healing and comfort to the poor and penitent, and sends to enquire if this may perchance

[3] Not as Mk. 1: 1 ff. takes it, the coming of Jesus.

be the expected Christ. Jesus sends but an evasive answer, bidding him note the character of the work and take no offense at the person of the agent. This occasion is then made the point of departure in Q for a long discourse whereby the writer brings out the relative character of the two movements, showing how that of Jesus corresponds to the work of the Isaian Servant, who brings healing, comfort and "glad tidings to the poor." In the same connection he proceeds to show the guilt of Israel in "stumbling" at this work, which is really that of the Wisdom of God, and will be "justified" in that minority of the people who can be called Wisdom's "children." The rest remain under heavier condemnation than the Gentiles because of their greater opportunity.

If any of us fail to remember how lightly Mark passes over all this Q material about the Baptist, how he makes John prepare the way not of Jehovah's, but only of Jesus' coming, it would be well to read through the Gospel of Mark once more, and note the difference. Not only is the representation of the Second Source incomparably more historical, especially in its recognition that the Baptist has no divine revelation of the character and work of Jesus, but its parallel between the two movements, in which the message of Jesus follows upon that of the Baptist as the Isaian message of comfort and healing follows upon the warning of Jonah "yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed," is in highest degree instructive. It conveys, as we shall see, the whole point of view of this primitive evangelist.

(2) From this Q comparison between the work of Jesus and that of John in the narrative introduction to Matthew's third book (Mt. 11–12) let us turn to certain Q elements in the introduction to the first book (Mt. 3:7-12; 4:1–10). The first is the Baptist's preaching of Repentance, which Mark was not interested to

record, though we have strong reason to believe that he had it before him. Its point is certainly not far from the Pauline doctrine that not they are children of Abraham who descend from him according to the flesh, but those who show his faith. In Q the message of John is: "Abrahamic descent gives no guarantee of escape from the coming wrath of God. God can make children of Abraham from the stones. Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings, or a more terrible baptism awaits you: The fire of judgment predicted by Malachi." Thus in Q the contrast is not, as in Mark, between a baptism of water (John's) and a baptism of the Spirit (Christian), but between the baptism of water unto repentance now offered, and the purifying flame of Jehovah's threshing-floor, destroying the chaff for evermore. However, I have already said enough regarding what we learn from Q as to the independent value of John's ministry and as to its nature. I must pass on to the Temptation story, a section which serves in the Second Source a purpose similar to that of the prologue of Mark or John; that is, it gives the reader a survey of the career that opens before Jesus as "the Son of God." It defines under symbolic forms what is involved in the term. It is implied in the Temptation story that it followed upon and elucidated some account of the Baptism and Voice from Heaven. As before, Mark was not sufficiently interested in this Q section to give its content, though when he comes to the question what is involved in the title Son of God, he does not fail to avail himself of the language of Jesus' reply to Satan in it. In Mk. 8: 33, its language is directed against Peter, who in resisting the doctrine of a martyr-Christ makes himself the tool of Satan.

As I said, the point of the midrashic temptation-story is to interpret the Christian sense of the title Son of God, which had just been divinely revealed. We may

therefore conclude that the "triple-tradition" (Markan) story of the vision at the baptism is really derived in the main from the Second Source. At all events it is based on the Isaian Servant-song "Behold my Servant whom I have chosen, my Beloved on whom my soul fixed her choice; I will put my Spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment (*mishpat,* i. e., knowledge of God) to the Gentiles." Jesus is the Servant-Son. We shall best get the idea of the parabolic attachment known as the Temptations by turning to one of the greatest of the pre-Christian Wisdom writings in which the Isaian figure of Israel as Jehovah's suffering Servant is developed. I may again remind you that in this Greek writing, the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, the titles of Servant (παῖς) and Son (υἱός) are used interchangeably. Both stand for Israel as the agent of Jehovah in restoring the world. In the second chapter of Wisdom a long poem describes the suffering and the shameful death to which the Righteous one is exposed by enemies who deride his claim to be the Servant of the Lord and to have knowledge of Him. Because he claims that "God is his Father," and believes that "if the righteous man is God's Son He will uphold him" the wicked put him to a shameful death, to try if his words be true. The martyrdom issues in a crown of immortality for the Righteous Servant, and the poet concludes with the following general application.

The souls of the righteous are in God's hand,
And no torment shall touch them.
In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died;
Their departure was accounted disaster,
And their journeying away from us, ruin.
But they are in peace, having a hope full of immortality.
God made trial of them and found them worthy of Himself,
And He will reign over them for evermore.
They that trust in Him (οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ) shall understand truth,

> And those that are faithful in love (οἱ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ) shall have their dwelling with Him.

I make the quotation in slightly abbreviated form not merely as a parallel to the second temptation (which shows how he that is truly God's Son is really upheld by Him even if in the eyes of the foolish he seems to have trusted in vain), but to make clear that in both cases the victory is a victory of "faith." Satan says: "cast thyself down; for it is written 'He shall give His angels charge concerning thee.'" The answer is in substance "Trust God, and be obedient even unto death." It is for Him to test thee, not for thee to put Him to the test. Faith and faithfulness, trust and "faithfulness in love" (a term that comes very close to Paul's "faith working through love"), are the qualities by which God "makes trial of" those who should be His Sons.

Another quotation from the same Wisdom writing will show still more clearly the writer's idea of the training of God's sons in "faith," and will at the same time show still closer affinity with the Temptation story. Wisdom 16:20–26 employs the same passage from Deuteronomy which is placed in the mouth of Jesus in the first Temptation, and in the same application. According to Wisdom Israel was given "bread from Heaven" in the wilderness in order "that thy sons whom thou lovest (ὃν υἱοί σου οὓς ἠγάπησας), O Lord, might learn that it is not the growth of earth's fruits that nourisheth a man, but that Thy word preserveth *them that have faith in Thee.*" Men who had read this passage of Wisdom would hardly need elaborate exposition to teach them the meaning of the Temptation, "If thou art the Son of God command that these stones be made bread." They would certainly not need special parallels to explain to them the third temptation with its contrast of a "Son of God" who sits on the throne of David, the

kingdoms of the world and the glory of them at his feet, with another who rejects all this as a kingdom of Satan, a kingdom according to the things of men.

We have dwelt long on the Temptation stories because, as I said, they serve in Q the purpose of a general introduction to the scenes of Jesus' life, explaining by their symbolism in what sense his claim to be the Son of God is to be understood, and how his humble obedience unto death, even the death of the cross, so far from conflicting with the scriptural ideal, is precisely in line with the divine purpose as revealed by Isaiah and those who followed with similar insight. I do not think any of us will fail to note how momentous a part is played here by the qualities of "faith" and "love" as the basis of divine "sonship," nor how near we come along this line to the teaching of Paul. I have time now only for one more citation from the Second Source, and I shall choose it in such a way as to bring out the writer's theory of the person of Christ, and of the way in which God works through him to the fulfillment of His redemptive purpose.

(3) We have had occasion already to observe in passing that this source has a noticeable parallel to Paul's doctrine of the "spoiling" of the Powers of darkness, and the working of the Spirit as evidence that the reign of God is already a potential reality. I have also had occasion to point out that the conception of Jesus' work of healing and glad tidings to the poor, as well as the depiction of his calling to be a "Son" in the sense of the submissive and martyred Servant, presuppose the same conception as Paul sets forth, based on the Servant-songs of Isaiah. There is, however, this difference, that in the Second Source this Isaian conception is even more strongly tinctured than in Paul with ideas characteristic of the later Wisdom literature. Not that anything here appears of preëxistence, or the activities of

Wisdom as the Firstborn of the creation, but of her redemptive activity as God's agent in winning back lost and erring humanity. Look at the sequel to the Q context which condemns unbelieving Israel in comparison with the believing and penitent "children of Wisdom," and which predicts that the "cities which believed not" will fare worse in the judgment than Tyre and Sidon, or Nineveh that repented at the warning of Jonah. We find here as the closing appeal in Mt. 11:25 ff. a typical Hymn of Wisdom. The first strophe is a thanksgiving of the Son to the Father for the hiding of the mystery from human knowledge, and the revelation of it to "babes." Such, the hymn declares, was the "good pleasure" (εὐδοκία) of the Father. A second strophe declares that the Father gives full knowledge of Himself to the elect Son in order that this saving knowledge may be conveyed through the Son as agent to as many as he wills. The third strophe is not found in the Lukan form, but it continues with Wisdom's invitation to all the weary and toil-worn to take upon them her easy yoke and learn her "meekness and lowliness," which will give rest to their souls. No student of lyric Wisdom, with its appeals to wayward men, and its claims to a knowledge of God given only to His chosen, can mistake the nature of this hymn. It follows the stereotyped form of such lyrics, in which "Wisdom praises herself" as the means of human redemption. She speaks here in the name of the Isaian Servant-Son, whose mission is to bring back all the wandering races of men by his knowledge of the true God. The writer of the Second Source places it in the mouth of Jesus because as supreme leader in the divinely given redemptive mission of Israel the Servant is "Wisdom" incarnate. We can all recognize at once a close connection with Paul's teaching in I Cor. 1:18–2:16 concerning the mind of Christ as a wisdom hidden from the worldly-wise, but revealed to us by the

Spirit. It is more important for us at present to notice that the use of it in this connection admits us to a very close view of the distinctive Christology of the Second Source. This evangelist too has his conception of the divine "good pleasure" (εὐδακία). It is an indwelling of the "fullness" of the Spirit of Adoption in Jesus as the chosen Son, the representative of Israel as the elect Servant of God, he whose mission is to bring the world to the saving knowledge of the Father. This evangelist, too, thinks of the Servant as "despised and rejected of men." He too believes in the "hiding of the mystery" from all but the "little ones" who are Wisdom's children, as do Paul and many other Hellenistic writers of the period. And he believes strongly in the shaming of the unbelief of Israel by the repentance and faith of the Gentiles. The last point is made peculiarly emphatic by such anecdotes as the believing Centurion, and such warnings as the denunciation of the Galilean cities that "believed not." It is easy to see that if this writer's story of the baptismal vision is based (as it would seem) on the passage from the Servant-song: "Behold my Servant whom I have chosen, my Beloved on whom my soul fixed her choice, I will put my Spirit upon him" the influence was not limited to these words, nor to the representation of the divine Spirit as the brooding dove, the messenger of peace and reconciliation.[4] The succeeding context is also reflected: "He shall bring forth true religion (*mishpat*) *to the Gentiles.*" This becomes unmistakable in a further explicit quotation from Wisdom writings which in Matthew's order comes at the very close of Jesus' public teaching, and clearly reflects the author's view of its outcome so

[4] Because of the cooing tones of this bird, always the characteristic spoken of in Jewish references. The divine Spirit of Wisdom utters her message of winning entreaty in these tones. According to rabbinic teaching the Voice from Heaven (*bath qol*) was like the gentle cooing of a dove.

far as Israel is concerned. In the Lukan form the utterance is explicitly ascribed to "the Wisdom of God." Indeed none other than this redemptive Spirit could claim to have sent the "prophets, wise men, and scribes," whom Israel had persecuted and rejected. Only she can appropriately compare herself to the mother-bird who has sought again and again to gather Zion's children as a bird gathers her nestlings under her protecting wings. This is, then, an utterance of the divine Spirit of redeeming Wisdom. It repeats in substance what the Old Testament Chronicler had said shortly after his reference to the stoning of Zechariah between the altar and the temple: "God sent to them by His messengers, rising up early and sending, because He had compassion on His people, and on His dwelling-place: but they mocked the messengers of God, and despised His words, and scoffed at His prophets, until the wrath of Jehovah rose against His people, till there was no remedy." All this is embodied in the poetic lament of the rejected Spirit of God which begins: "Behold I send unto you prophets and sages and scribes," recalling the shedding of their blood from Abel to Zechariah, and denouncing Jerusalem as murderer of the prophets. It closes with the words: "Behold, your house (the dwelling-place of God's Spirit of Wisdom) is left unto you forsaken. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of Jehovah,'" that is, until ye receive God's messengers with blessing, instead of insult and abuse. The quotation appears in Q as the closing utterance of Jesus' public ministry. But the primitive evangelist would not have so employed it had it not expressed perfectly his conception of Jesus' ministry to Israel and its outcome. We have, therefore, in spite of the fragmentary nature of the material, a clear view both in prospect and retrospect of this precanonical evangelist's

conception of the person and work of Jesus. Jesus was to his mind the supreme embodiment of the redeeming Wisdom of God, which, as Wisdom of Solomon puts it "in every generation, entering into holy souls maketh men to be prophets and friends of God." As divinely appointed leader of Israel to the fulfillment of its destiny to be Jehovah's Son and Servant to bring the knowledge of Him to all that are afar off, Jesus summed up the message of all the prophets and sages. But he also met their fate, which is rejection and martyrdom. In faith and obedience he fulfills his task, accepted in Israel only by a believing remnant of the "little ones," and meeting larger measure of faith only among the Gentiles. But a time of vindication and return is coming, and the beloved "dwelling-place," now forsaken of God, will see His presence again. It will be when they greet with the hosannas of the redemption feast the messengers of peace whom now they kill and persecute from city to city. Little, therefore, is really wanting to make our understanding of this writer's theory of the person and work of Christ complete. It is a Wisdom Christology, whose affinity with Paul's is strikingly close. And yet there is no doctrine of the cross. What might be found if we could restore the missing close, the record of the Supper and its farewell message, falls, of course, beyond our ken. All that can be said is that had the doctrine that God made His Servant's soul an offering for sin been really present some trace would have been likely to survive. As it is, the Epistle of James, with its conception of the implanted wisdom of God as the source of all holiness, is not far from this teaching of sonship by true *gnosis*. On the other hand James falls far indeed below the level of this writer's doctrine of saving "faith."

Our real portrait of Jesus as he was can be drawn from no one of these sources alone. Petrine tradition may supply the element of the heroic and ideal, Paul

may lend aid with his speculative apologetic and his mystical experience, but we shall ever owe to this unknown evangelist of the Second Source the choicest, most exquisite reflection of the teaching; and it is in this as well as in his life and death of devotion that Jesus proves his supreme right to be called the chosen Son. It is not only by making his soul an offering for sin that he "justifies many." The Servant brings peace and reconciliation to the world by his "knowledge of the Father."

3. *The Christian Prophets and Their Message*

In the pseudonymous Epistle known as Second Peter we have a striking example of the manner in which the post-apostolic age combined renewed emphasis upon commandment, with zeal for its sanction in reward and punishment in an impending day of judgment. Once the great crisis was over wherein Roman persecution under Domitian had threatened the Church with actual extinction, it was keenly realized that the remaining peril (perhaps after all the greater one) was moral laxity. The doctrine of grace and forgiveness, still more the conception of Christianity as *gnosis,* gave opportunity to new teachers who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, perverting the new commandment of love to their own lusts, contemptuous of abstinence from meats offered to idols, as unworthy the attention of one whose *gnosis* teaches him that no idol is anything in the world, and even looking indulgently upon immoralities connected with heathen worship. In an encyclical of a single chapter a writer of this age addresses the Church at large under the name of Jude the brother of James, fulminating against the false teachers of moral laxity in language largely borrowed from such writings as *Enoch* and the *Assumption of Moses.* Sec-

ond Peter follows suit, incorporating the whole of Jude's denunciation of the followers of Cain, Balaam, and Korah, but prefixing a chapter on the testimony of the Transfiguration to the reality of the resurrection body, and appending another on the certainty of the coming judgment. These two pseudonymous epistles show the conditions at the close of the century. In the same way the student who will give adequate attention to the distinctive characteristics of the individual Gospels will find that our Gospel of Matthew, a writing of the same period, reflects the same feeling. It combines its systematic arrangement of the teaching of Jesus in the form of "commandments" and the accompanying repeated denunciations of those who teach and work "lawlessness" with an elaborate depiction of divine reward and punishment which goes far beyond anything to be found in the other Gospels. We have already observed to some extent how in Synoptic literature the "turning back to the tradition handed down to us from the very first" becomes increasingly, from Mark to Luke and from Luke to Matthew, a reaction to neo-legalism. We have now to observe how at about the same period, among the Greek-speaking Pauline churches of Ephesus and its vicinity, another element of the older Aramaic teaching material is resurrected in Greek form to meet the new danger.

Among the three examples current among the churches in the second century of what was called "prophecy," that is, the utterances of the "prophets" in the form of apocalypse, or revelation, only one outlived the intense opposition roused by the excesses of the millenarian followers of Montanus. The apocalypses of *Peter* and of *Hermas* lost ground and were finally discarded. The Ephesian apocalypse which bore the name of "John" would have shared this fate but for the vigorous assertion of its authenticity by men

such as Papias and Justin. By the narrowest possible margin, and solely because it was declared to be the writing of an Apostle, the Revelation of John finally succeeded in maintaining its place among the Western churches. Thanks to the violent dispute over this "prophecy," as it calls itself, we have more precise and definite statements from the earliest writers concerning its origin than about any other in the entire canon. It was declared to have appeared at Ephesus "in the end of the reign of Domitian." In all save the underlying material, drawn from older compositions, in part at least from the reign of Nero, this traditional date is fully confirmed by modern criticism. Revelation in its present form is an Ephesian work of 93–95 A. D. The visions of the main body of the work are indeed concerned with the conflict between Jerusalem and Rome, and have neither mention of the churches of Asia, nor trace of interest in their vicissitudes; whereas the introductory Epistles of the Spirit to these seven Pauline churches are just as destitute on their part of interest in, or mention of, the Palestinian situation. Nevertheless introductory letters, and incorporated visions are both, it would seem, translated from the Aramaic. There seems to be the strongest reason to regard the work as composite. The prefixed letters and the epilogue at the end, in which it is represented that the visions were all granted to the Apostle John, brought "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" to the isle of Patmos, must of course belong to the age of Domitian, as already shown. No other situation is possible for them. On the other hand the main body of the work whose scenes and interests are purely Palestinian, certainly contains elements belonging to the struggle against Nero and the destruction of the temple. Its author speaks of the Apostles objectively, placing himself outside their number, and ranking him-

self definitely as one of the hierarchy of Christian "prophets." It is of course only natural if the later reviser reissues the work in Ephesus equipped with introductory Epistles to the Churches of Asia, that these epistles should be full of imagery derived from the incorporated visions. But why should this portion also have been written in Aramaic? The fact (for it seems to be such) has been brought up as a serious objection to the theory of adaptation to the conditions of Asia in 93–95 of a Palestinian book of prophecy (or prophecies) of 65–70. At first sight it really seems so. The evidences of translation are quite as strong in the first four chapters and the last as in the rest of the book. But in order to carry out the dramatic *mise en scène* which assumes that the speaker is the Apostle John writing from Patmos at the dictation of the Spirit, it would be natural for an editor whose own mother-tongue was Aramaic to represent the Apostle as using his native language, even if actual use among the churches addressed required (as it evidently did) subsequent translation into Greek. Hence even if the entire book (except perhaps the first three verses and the last) be shown to be translated from the Aramaic, this is no real obstacle to the theory of composite origin. At least it offers none to the view here advocated, that the visions of 4:1–22:7 are merely adapted from earlier Palestinian "prophecies" to the situation in proconsular Asia "in the end of the reign of Domitian." Can we derive, in any event, from this peculiar and primitive literature a conception of Jesus as seen by the Christian prophets?

It is singular how completely the danger from the inroads of heresy in the seven churches of Asia seems to have driven out of the mind of the author of the introductory epistles the conflict which is the sole concern of the rest of the book. After 4:1 the whole field is

occupied with the great battle of Christ and Anti-Christ, the ultimate triumph of the new Jerusalem, the city of the saints, over Babylon the Great, the city of the Beast and the false prophet. Not a word appears of the foe within. Even the false prophet is an open supporter of the worship of the Beast, and depends upon his weapons of raging violence. This Devil goeth about as a roaring lion. In the letters the situation is different. We have one allusion to a single case of martyrdom which has occurred some time before in Pergamum, the seat of emperor-worship, and one warning of a "ten days'" outbreak against the church in Smyrna. Otherwise there is no reference to persecution. The general situation is rather that of the reaction and lassitude which come after days of heroic resistance. Sardis is indolent, Laodicea has become so rich and self-satisfied as to scarcely retain its place as a church. Even Ephesus has left its first love, and Pergamum, where Antipas had been martyred, is not exhorted to hold out against persecution, but against the Balaamites and Nicolaitans who teach an immoral heresy. The Devil has adopted a new line of attack. He is now no longer a roaring lion, but a seducing serpent.

It is quite apparent from the reference to the Balaamites in 2:14 that the heretical tendency is identical with that combatted by Paul in I Cor. 10. In like manner it is apparent that the depiction of the glorified Christ in the introductory chapters, while it systematically reproduces the traits of the warrior on the white horse who appears in the closing vision (19:11–22:7) as the Word of God [5] has also definitely Pauline traits, as when he is called in 1:5 "the firstborn of the dead," who "loved us and loosed us from our sins by his blood"; or in 1:18 receives attributes barely less than

[5] That is, the Babylonian destroying Word, the Hebrew *Memra*, as in Wisdom of Solomon 18:15 f.; not *Hoqma*, which is Logos in the sense of "Wisdom."

the eternal self-existence which in 1:8, 4:8, and 21:6 belongs to the Almighty. Pauline influence therefore makes itself felt here, and perhaps in the closing vision of the conquering Memra-Logos in 19:11 ff.; though of course the representation as a whole is purely Jewish, borrowing copiously from the visions of Daniel and Ezekiel. But when we come to the inner substance of the book nothing whatever remains of these Pauline traits. The figure that represents Christ is always and constantly the "Lamb (ἀρνίον) as it had been slain," that is, not the mute lamb of the Isaian Song of the martyred Servant (ἀμνός), but the male "yearling of the flock" prescribed for the celebration of Passover, the feast of redemption. When the royal court of Heaven is set, and the books of judgment are opened, none is found worthy to open the book of life save the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Scion of David, who was slain and who purchased to God with his blood men of every tribe and tongue, and made them a kingdom and priests to the God of Israel, to reign upon the earth. In Chapter 7 he is seen as Leader of the army of the 144,000 martyrs, shepherding them in the heavenly pastures, and guiding them to unfailing springs. A new series of prophecies begins with Chapter 11. The temple is measured off, as in Ezekiel, to be preserved from the treading down by the Gentiles which is to be the fate of the outer court and "the holy city," a representation surely first formulated before 70 A. D., and Palestinian in origin. In the city appear the two "witnesses of Messiah," Moses and Elijah, bearing their testimony. Satan secures their martyrdom, and for three days and a half their dead bodies lie in the street, the sport of the mob. But God raises them from the dead and they ascend to heaven in a cloud, after which comes the consummation; but only after a new interlude in which Michael and his angels intervene to preserve the

woman with the child who is to rule all nations, against the dragon's attempt to destroy her. Foiled in his attempt the dragon goes away to make war with the rest of the woman's seed, who are explained to be the Christian Church. This further war, waged by angels on behalf of the Lamb and his following of martyrs, who now appear on Mount Zion, results in the overthrow of the Beast and his following, and the destruction of Babylon the Great. The scene closes with the marriage supper of the Lamb. The seer is on the point of worshiping the angel who conducts him, but is forbidden. One can hardly avoid recognizing here a reflection of events in Jerusalem in the great crisis of 62–70, to which older prophecies, perhaps pre-Christian, have been adapted.

Many features of this vision of the redeeming Lamb are carried over into the remaining vision of the conquering Memra-Logos and the appearance of the new Jerusalem, but not all; and where the term "the Lamb" is used it is incongruous. Especially incongruous is the *repetition* of the seer's former attempt to worship the angel (22:8; cf. 19:10). We cannot therefore regard the book as a unit, and are compelled to carry back some parts of it to the period before the destruction of Jerusalem when, as we learn from Josephus, James the leader of the Palestinian church was stoned by the mob in the streets of Jerusalem, together with others whom Josephus does not name. From a fragment of Papias, and some further evidence it becomes probable that one of those who shared the fate of James in the year 62 was John the son of Zebedee, whose brother had been beheaded by Agrippa I, in 41–42 A. D. Our author seems to be comparing the martyr pair to Moses and Elijah, who were expected to appear just before the consummation as "witnesses of the Messiah" and to suffer this fate. Our chief interest, however, is not with the

course of events, interesting as they are. They may be reflected in this primitive "prophecy" whose derivation is so remote from the influence of Paul that even the doctrine of the suffering Servant scarcely appears. But we are chiefly interested to note the character and nature of Jesus, as he appears to the eye of this "prophet," who is not even of the number of the Twelve, though taken to be "John" by the Ephesian adapter of the visions. Let the attribution to "John" have value or not, we at least have here, in the older elements of this composite book, a primitive Christian "prophecy" from the home-land of Jesus. Its conception of Christ carries us directly back to the very beginnings; for it reverts to the symbolism of the farewell Passover, the self-dedication to martyrdom in the cup of the new covenant. Its very foundation is the promise of the heavenly banquet, in which the Son of Man, Jesus, would sit down with the Twelve in his kingdom, and they should reign with him in the new Jerusalem. Other features connected with the Pauline Christology appear in the later elements, but at bottom the conception is simply that of Jesus' parting words. He is for the seer of Revelation the Son of David, who became a passover victim (*τὸ ἀρνίον*) that he might redeem the people of God. Ill indeed could we spare these visions of Palestinian prophets. We may be grateful that they were preserved to us by the effort of an Ionian church to combat antinomian heresy and to hold up the moral standards of a degenerate time by revival of the expectation of judgment and of the approaching end of the age, whatever judgment we pass on the editor's representation of the authorship. From the midst of the martyrdoms of that great crisis of the mother church its "prophets" look up to Jesus as their Passover, slain on their behalf, and interceding for them "in the midst of the throne."

LECTURE VIII

THE GOSPEL AS THEOLOGY

[Among the "Aspects of Contemporary Theology" which we are here invited to consider[1] is the Reinterpretation of the Fourth Gospel in view of conclusions of criticism regarding its authorship and date which must now be admitted to have at least a considerable measure of probability. If it be the work of an unknown Ephesian disciple of Paul of about the year 100–110, what will be its meaning and value to us?

All the advance of modern exegesis over the past may be summed up in one great foundation principle of what is known as grammatico-historical interpretation. The principle may be stated as follows: The real contribution of any biblical writer to the religious thought of our time must be found, if at all, in the message he intended to convey to his own. He wrote primarily for his contemporaries. Therefore what his language and his references meant to them is the measure of legitimate interpretation. There is no royal road to direct application. The leaps of undisciplined fancy are sauts perilleux. We have indeed the largest liberty of application and adaptation once the author's real intention has been discovered. In most cases he himself will be found to have set the example in adapting the work of his predecessors. But we have no right to cloak our own ideas with the mantle of his authority, nor may we lightly dispense ourselves from the long and toilsome search of grammarian and historian into the conditions of the author's time. That background and environment of language, thought, and circumstance afford the only legitimate key. First the historical sense, after that the inference or lesson.

I am asked at this time to expand a lecture recently given on the service of the fourth evangelist to his own age, and to

[1] The general subject of discussion proposed for the Summer School of Theology at Oxford was "Aspects of Contemporary Theology." The section here printed in smaller type was prefixed to the closing lecture of the former series, in order to adapt it (in expanded form as two lectures) for the Summer School.

include his contribution to ours. The method must be that of the principle stated. In the lectures which preceded I traced the line of development which leads over from the gospel of the kingdom preached *by* Jesus in Galilee to the gospel *about* Jesus preached by his disciples and Paul to the world. The so-called "Johannine" writings (by which are usually meant the three Epistles and Gospel ascribed to John, but which unlike the Revelation are anonymous) mark the supreme achievement in this development. Antiquity and modern Christendom alike recognize the fourth Gospel as the interpretative climax of New Testament literature. Consciously or not, this evangelist has placed the key-stone in the arch whose piers are on the one side the Pauline and post-Pauline Epistles, on the other the Synoptic literature and Book of the Revelation. Antiquity names him "the theologian," appreciating that in his work foundations are laid on which all later theology has built, though when the name was coined it had not as yet attained its modern sense. But the fourth Gospel does present the story of Jesus as theology. What then, was the purpose and bearing of this higher synthesis?]

1. *The Higher Synthesis*

The greatest of Paul's disciples was an unnamed successor in Ephesus, the headquarters of his mission field. This is the writer who in the so-called "Johannine" Epistles and Gospel seeks to combine the values of the Synoptic record of the sayings and doings of Jesus with the Pauline Christology. As I have tried to show in the volume entitled *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* it is no fault of this author if the name of "John" (which he himself does not so much as mention) became attached to his work in an age which had begun to demand apostolic authentication. To meet this demand a later hand has attached the well known appendix to the Gospel (Chapter 21). But this section is admitted even by Lightfoot and Zahn to be at least in part an editorial postscript. In fact it does not seem to be known to the epitomator of the resurrection gospel who quotes Jn. 20:11 ff., in Mk. 16:9–11. And even

the Appendix does not as yet venture explicitly to name the Apostle John as author. It attributes the writing to the mysterious " beloved disciple " who appears in it on several occasions. The name " John " is not mentioned in connection with the Gospel until 181 A. D. The first claims to Johannine authorship were made in behalf of the Apocalypse, which had emanated from the same region in the year 93, and which from the first had purported to be the work of the Apostle. It is easy to see what would happen. However diverse in character, language, and doctrinal standpoint (and no two writings of the entire New Testament are more so), the four anonymous writings of the Ephesian canon (the Epistles and Gospel) would inevitably come to be attributed to the same apostolic hand as the pseudepigraphic fifth, the Revelation. The Appendix meets the demand for authentication with an adaptation of the legend of the Two Witnesses, " red " and " white " martyrdom. But it purposely leaves the precise identity of the " beloved disciple " undetermined. Still it makes the conjecture of John very easy, and by the last quarter of the second century the hint had been widely adopted. The Gospel and First Epistle as well as the Apocalypse were attributed to the Apostle. There was strenuous denial, but this was overcome by the efforts of Irenaeus together with his pupil Hippolytus and men like-minded. Only the Second and Third Epistles, which bore on their face the superscription " the Elder," were still classed for a time with the " disputed " writings. Ultimately all five were considered " Johannine." The belief in Apostolic authorship could not but deeply affect the interpretation. What would our interpretation be were it quite unaffected by this assumption? That is the question we must now attempt to answer.

Papias and the author of the Muratorian Fragment

seem to have found First Peter a useful writing on which to base an introduction to the second Gospel. We have ourselves found that the Epistle of James might be similarly applied to the Second Source, and Jude to the Gospel of Matthew. But at Ephesus prophets and evangelists furnished their own introductory epistles. Revelation has seven preliminary letters; so that it is not (as the Muratorianum has it) Paul who follows the example of his predecessor, John, in writing to seven churches by name in order to address all, but it is Pseudo-John who follows the example of Paul. The fourth evangelist also seems to appreciate the value of covering letters, but he limits himself to the example of Paul's group of three letters sent to this same region, one personal, to Philemon, one to a local church, Colossians, and one general, Ephesians. In like manner the "Elder's" letter to Gaius (III Jn.) covers a second to the local church (II Jn.), which is accompanied in turn by a third, the general epistle (I Jn.). From these so-called "Johannine Epistles," wherein the author addresses himself directly to his readers using the first and second person, we can gain some insight into the conditions which gave rise to them and to the Gospel.

In the Johannine Epistles it is not persecution, as in the Revelation, which is the peril of the churches, but false doctrine. In fact the author repeatedly and explicitly identifies the Anti-Christ with the specific heresy which denies that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, that is, Docetism. He thus excludes the idea of the Apocalyptist, who quite as explicitly identifies Anti-Christ with the persecuting power of Rome. The false teachers have the same pronounced tendency to moral laxity complained of by Jude, Matthew, II Peter, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistles of the Spirit to the churches of Asia. But in First John as in Ignatius false doc-

trine is apprehended as the chief danger. The Docetic and Gnostic character of the heresy no longer admits of doubt. The false teachers aspire to fellowship with God. They have mysticism without morality. They claim to have knowledge of God, and even to be begotten of Him; but they seek this communion by way of the intellect rather than of the will. They are "Gnostics" who forget the "new commandment" of love, and ignore the teaching of Jesus and of Paul that to partake in the divine life as beloved children we must be imitators of Him: that we must "walk in love, even as Christ loved us and gave himself for us," because (as this writer adds) love is the essential quality of the divine nature. The danger apprehended by the Johannine writer is then fundamentally the same "lawlessness" (*ἀνομία*) combatted by the Epistles of Jude, James, and II Peter, by the later Synoptists, and by the introductory Letters of the Apocalypse. But the reaction against it is from the side of Paulinism, not from that of the Palestinian tradition.

The situation of the Church at this time imperatively demanded new emphasis upon the teaching and the life of Jesus. It confronted the vague emanation doctrines of the Docetists, who held to an aeon-Christ that comes by water only, and not by water and blood, a particular theophany of the divine Logos, which had occupied the body of an otherwise negligible Jesus as its "receptacle" until just before the cross, the martyrdom of Calvary having been an illusion; for so we have it still in the docetic *Acts of John*. Against this kind of theosophic religiosity it was vitally important to insist upon the historical and tangible reality of the apostolic testimony. The Church bears witness of things actually seen and heard and handled, not vague myths and "old-wives' fables." It was equally vital to insist upon the demand for moral obedience. Talk about mystical ex-

periences, *gnosis,* insight into mysteries, fellowship with God and participation in His eternal life, new birth into eternity and the rest of the current mystical jargon of the day, is all froth and self-deception unless it issues in practical deeds of unselfish service. "Hereby know we love, because That One laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. . . . Little children, let us not love in word, neither with the tongue, but in deed and truth." "Abiding in Him" means keeping his commandments of love. Historical and moral realism, that is the writer's aim.

Thus the Johannine Epistles, with their direct onslaught on the false religion of the time, furnish the true historical key to the Johannine Gospel. Two things were indispensable if any headway was to be made against the docetic tendencies here so apparent: (1) the story of Jesus' sacrificial life and death as told in the Petrine-Markan tradition, (2) the exposition of the new commandment of love as seen in Jesus' teaching as to the righteousness of sons who imitate the loving-kindness of the heavenly Father reported in the Second Source.

But both records must be recast; for no single one of the sources represented in our Synoptic Gospels, nor all of them combined, could possibly satisfy the need of a church trained in the Christology and soteriology of Paul. Take up first the story of Mark as modified by Matthew and Luke. Their addition of the Teaching Source is a gain of immense importance, enough in itself alone to justify the appearance of the two new Gospels. But how could disciples accustomed to think of Christ in terms of the preëxistent Spirit of creative Wisdom be content with Gospels which merely correct the adoptionism of Mark by combining descent from David with stories of miraculous birth? Paul's Christology, as we have pointed out, is in its very essence an

incarnation doctrine. The Synoptic Christology, even as improved by Luke and Matthew, and in spite of its interpretative vision-stories of the Temptation and Transfiguration, which throw a momentary light from the unseen world, is essentially an apotheosis doctrine. To give the story the Pauline religious values it would have to be re-written throughout. It must be lifted everywhere to the supernal realm of Gnostic speculation, though without Gnostic superstition. Jesus must appear "the fullness of the Godhead in bodily form." And he must be so depicted consistently, and not merely at his baptism and when he takes the way of the cross. Without relinquishing the realism of Petrine story, which would be to play into the hands of the Docetists, there must be such a restatement of the gospel record as would show how Jesus came forth from God manifesting the glory which he had with his Father from the beginning as the Firstborn of the creation. It must be shown how he again went to God, not as defeated by his enemies but in calm and unperturbed majesty, fulfilling the known purpose of his Father, drawing humanity to himself, and casting out the Prince of this world. No disciple of Paul could be satisfied with less.

If the Synoptic form of the story required raising to this higher level in its earlier part, much more would restatement be required in the later. As Polycarp shows us, "resurrection and judgment" (in the cruder Jewish sense) were a stumbling-block to the entire Greek-speaking world. The apocalyptic eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels is superseded in the fourth even more completely than in Paul. Instead of a Doom chapter on the fate of Jerusalem and the approaching end of the world, we have the discourses of the upper room. Here the Return is an indwelling of Christ and the Father in the heart of those who keep the new commandment. Judas (not Iscariot) exclaims: "Lord,

what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?" But this is not a surprise to the reader, who knows from the conversation with Nicodemus that the judgment is already accomplished by a natural gravitation of the sons of light toward the great Light that has come into the world, while those who are of the darkness flee from it to abide under condemnation and death. The history of this conception of the Messiah as a "great light" entering the lower world of darkness and death to effect both judgment and deliverance would carry us far back into pre-Christian interpretative application of the Isaian passage: "The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light; unto them that dwell in the shadow of death hath the light shined." [2] Paul in Eph. 5:14 quotes a form of the prophecy in which it had been applied to the Messiah, just as the Targum applies the Song of the martyred Servant, as a "scripture." This unknown prophecy ran: "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and the Christ shall shine upon thee." Paul applies it to the judgment which the saints, who have been roused from the darkness and death of sin by the new light of Christ's resurrection, must bring against the world by conduct befitting "children of the light." No one who reads Eph. 5:7–14 need be surprised, then, to find from II Tim. 2:18 that there were false teachers in the Pauline churches who maintained that the resurrection and judgment were past already, because the darkness was past and the true light already shining. Still less should we be

[2] Cf. *Bereshith Rabba:* "When they who were bound in Gehinnom saw the light of the Messiah they rejoiced in receiving him, and said, 'This is he who will lead us forth out of this darkness'; and Irenæus, Ἐις Ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ Κηρύγματος, c. 38, 238, v. 'Light entered our prison-house and brought resurrection.' *Slav. En.* xlvi. 3 adds, 'When God shall send a great light, by means of that there will be judgment to the just and the unjust, and nothing will be concealed.'"

surprised to find an Ephesian evangelist toward the end of the century reversing the point of view of Revelation, and presenting as the teaching of Jesus that "Now is the judgment of this world, and the casting out of its Prince," that for judgment the Son of Man came into the world, and that it is already convicted and condemned by its attitude both toward him and toward those endowed with his Spirit (Jn. 5:22–47; 16:8–11), those who hate the light fleeing from it lest their deeds be reproved, as those who are of it walk and live in it.

No more remains, then, in the Ephesian Gospel, of the expected great assize in the end of the world than the life-giving summons to the saints in the last day (5:25–29). This complete transfer of the emphasis under the influence of Paul away from the expected judgment of the apocalyptic type in the end of the world, described in the Gospel of Matthew, back to a judgment already executed in principle by the coming of Jesus and the Spirit, is anticipated in Paul's Epistles to the Romans (Rom. 8:1) and to the Ephesians; but it necessitated a complete recast of the traditional teaching. Hence a "spiritual gospel" to teach the "last things" from a rationalized point of view was needed just as urgently as one to teach the "first things" from the view-point of Christ's preëxistence as the creative and redemptive Wisdom of God. At least these two restatements of the Church's doctrine in the domain of Christology and eschatology respectively were indispensable wherever Paulinism stood confronted by Greek thought.

Again, no church which cherished the finest and highest teachings of Paul could possibly be satisfied with Gospels of the Synoptic type for the full record of the doings and sayings of Jesus, to say nothing of differences between Rome and Asia on the score of ritual and

observances. If the teaching of Paul survived at all it was inevitable that it should find expression, in days when Gospels of the Synoptic type were coming into use, in a restatement of the tradition of Jesus' ministry and teaching in a form to bring out its higher religious values. This is what the Fathers mean when they report that when John saw what the other evangelists had reported of the bodily things concerning Jesus, he was moved to write a "spiritual" Gospel. In his story of the public ministry also, the fourth evangelist really does carry us back to Mark, and behind Mark; but the supreme Teacher to whom it harks back is not the Jesus of Peter but the Christ of Paul.

At the period when the fourth Gospel was written it was already much too late for a critical record of mere fact regarding the life of Jesus, even had the interest been present to recover it. For two generations the use made of it had been religious and pragmatic. Men had sought in it not fact but truth, and just as in modern times we are conscious that truth may be conveyed in many cases more effectively by fiction than by fact, so with the ancient world, but in much higher degree. As Plato is fond of using myth to convey a philosophical truth, so do the teachers of the Synagogue revel in parables and tales whose end is edification, and whose value is reckoned according to the attainment, or failure to attain, this end. The rule of haggada is Paul's rule: "All things for edification." As we have already seen, there is decisive evidence for the employment of just such interpretative haggada, or midrash, in the early Christian Church, long after the period of our Gospels, in the tradition of the sayings and doings of Jesus. In fact our own Gospel of Mark was seen to employ for its key-narratives accompanying the story of Jesus' baptism, and of his taking the way of the cross, two vision stories of precisely this midrashic character. The task

of the fourth evangelist in relating the ministry was essentially the same as that which had been imperfectly fulfilled in the Roman Gospel by the incorporation of these two midrashoth. Not the mere beginnings of the two periods of Jesus' career must be glorified in the light of the supernal world, but the ministry in its entirety. From start to finish it would have to be so narrated as to exhibit its relation to things eternal, according to the Christology of Paul. At the same time it must retain the strong note of human reality which gave to the Petrine record cherished by the Church its immeasurable superiority to the grotesque fables of the Docetists, such as we meet in the docetic *Acts of John*. For this purpose the fourth evangelist wisely follows the example of Mark in prefixing a prologue (Jn. 1: 1–18) which apprises the reader in quasi-philosophical terms of the inner significance of the narrative which is to follow. Also in the body of the work he limits himself to a selection of illustrative discourses and mighty works (in this Gospel designated "signs") applied explicitly to the single purpose of eliciting the belief that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, a faith which issues in eternal life (20: 30–31).

Men of far greater knowledge than mine of the extent to which Jewish teaching for edification could resort to fiction even when fact might have been available have expressed their readiness to regard this writing as the work of the Apostle John. Such is in fact the late second-century tradition, which maintains that this highly idealized representation of the story and teaching of Jesus was the work of an eye-witness, yes, the closest and most intimate of all the eye-witnesses, though only after he had become thoroughly indoctrinated with the ideas of Paul. This was the view of that superb scholar and profoundly Christian spirit, so lately the ornament of this college and university, Prin-

cipal Drummond, who certainly approached the question of Johannine authorship with unusual freedom from bias, however possibly disposed in much later years to stand by a conclusion once logically reached, even against an altered phase of the argument. It may be that Principal Drummond's exceptional and sympathetic appreciation of Philo, the Jewish mystic and Gnostic, made it possible for him to maintain the view which he adopted. This view, however, requires us to hold that one who knew the actual facts of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem as an eye-witness, one who alone of all men alive could tell the real story of the Master's tragic end, deliberately consigned to oblivion the facts for which the Christian world was thirsting, and concocted a fiction to take their place. For "fiction" is the word applied by Principal Drummond himself to the story of the raising of Lazarus from the dead; and it is this event which in the Ephesian Gospel takes the place of the Purging of the Temple as the occasion of Jesus' martyrdom.

Fortunately the evidence for Johannine authorship is not really so strong as to require this feat of imagination. The fourth evangelist does not pretend to be an eye-witness, nor does he intentionally substitute fiction for fact. He merely uses such material as was currently employed for similar purposes in his time, making no more enquiry as to its historical reliability than was customary under the prevailing rule: "Let all things be done unto edification." The Ephesian evangelist tells the story as it had been told to him. He makes no more use of "fiction" than that free employment of edifying story which in that age was accorded by common consent to every synagogue teacher. The insoluble difficulties arise only when we think of him as the Apostle and eye-witness which he never professed to be. We should conceive instead the preacher and in-

terpreter of a Paulinized type of Christianity who used the recognized methods of his age against the false teachers he himself denounces. Next to ridding ourselves of this traditional prepossession, and placing ourselves at the evangelist's own point of view, face to face with his own environment, by means of the three Epistles, the most important step toward real appreciation of the fourth Gospel is to avail ourselves of the theological key which the evangelist himself supplies in the Prologue.

2. *The Prologue*

The very able and acute Swiss critic Overbeck pointed to the story in Acts 18, of a community of pre-Pauline disciples at Ephesus (of which the learned Alexandrian Jew Apollos had been a member until won over to Paulinism by Priscilla and Aquila) as offering the explanation why this Ephesian Gospel, so deeply tinged with Alexandrian-Jewish ideas, should have been attributed to "John." For the first Ephesian community *was* "Johannine." They were disciples of the Baptist. Luke speaks of them, to be sure, as "disciples," and of Apollos, their leader, as "instructed in the way of the Lord." He even declares that Apollos "spoke and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus," though the whole group knew of no other baptism than that of John. By this use of language Luke becomes in some degree responsible for a very startling theory propounded by a fellow-countryman of mine, Professor Wm. Benjamin Smith, formerly of the chair of Mathematics, now of Philosophy in Tulane University, La. In this respect Professor Smith resembles Sir Isaac Newton, that his mathematics are much better than his interpretation of Scripture. Professor Smith infers from this passage that the Apollos group were worshiping a "pre-Christian Jesus." In reality all that Luke

means by the Way of the Lord as taught by the Ephesian Baptists can be seen by Lk. 3:18, where the evangelist speaks of the Baptist himself as "preaching the Gospel." For Luke the Baptist himself was a preacher of Christianity, minus the doctrine of the Spirit; hence a Baptist community in Ephesus would be (to his mind) "disciples." Having heard the "preaching of the Gospel" from the Baptist they would know "the way of the Lord," and even "the things concerning Jesus"; though to become complete Christians they would require to receive (after further catechizing) the baptism of the Spirit and its accompanying gifts. The "pre-Christian Jesus" is a modern myth, destitute of other foundation than this misunderstanding of Luke. However, there *were* Johannine Baptists in Ephesus before Paul's coming, and they doubtless knew more or less about Jesus. Under the leadership of Apollos they had probably given a more or less Alexandrian cast to the Baptist's teaching of whose discrimination we have some traces in other localities also.[3]

Overbeck's suggestion is hardly necessary to account for the attachment of the name of "John" to the Ephesian Gospel, because after Revelation had been accepted as authentic by men such as Papias and Justin it was practically certain that the same Apostle's name would be attached to the rest of the Ephesian canon anyway.[4] But the pre-Pauline brotherhood of John at Ephesus whose leader was Apollos is an important factor in the history of this Ionian center of Hellenistic theosophy which was the birth-place of the fourth Gos-

[3] Dositheus, the predecessor of Simon Magus in Samaria, is said in the *Clementine Homilics* to have been a disciple of the Baptist. The Mandæan sect on the Persian Gulf are Gnostics who trace their origin to the Baptist.

[4] The existence of this community of "disciples of John" may very well account for the existence of two τροπαία of John in Ephesus, as alleged by Dionysius of Alexandra in his attempt to discover evidences of a non-apostolic John having resided there.

pel. We can no more afford to neglect it than we can venture to neglect the post-Pauline advent to this and the sister churches of the Lycus valley of a contingent of utterly different type in the person of the Evangelist Philip of Caesarea and his four prophesying daughters. If it be reasonable to connect the latter factor with the Johannine "Revelation," it is no less so to connect the former with the fourth Gospel. In observing the character of the Ephesian Gospel we cannot but recall how Paul had written to the Corinthians from Ephesus commending Apollos, and that he adds the assurance that he (Paul), too, could, had he chosen, have preached the gospel in terms of mystical gnosis. Apollos' devotion to this type of "wisdom" will have been of earlier date than his conversion by Aquila and Prisca, and may well have characterized the "Johannine" group of which he seems to have been the leader. While, then, the name of "John" is hardly likely to have become attached for this reason to the fourth Gospel, it is by no means without significance that even before the advent of Paul, Ephesus had been the seat of an Alexandrian sect which Luke could regard as quasi-Christian, though in reality followers of the Baptist, whose "gospel" they had doubtless developed in their own characteristic way. If we knew more of the Second Source, inferences would be less precarious. As it is, we may venture to recall that we found the Christology of the Second Source to be distinctively a "Wisdom" Christology (or in other words, Alexandrian), and moreover that in this source the prominence given to John the Baptist is vastly greater than in Mark. On the other hand a curious polemic against an exaggerated esteem for the Baptist has been recognized for nearly a century and a half [5] as a characteristic feature of the

[5] See Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangelium's* 1898. Michaelis had already made some observations in this line.

Ephesian Gospel. In fact Wellhausen has good reason for his denial of the relevancy of the interjected remarks about John the Baptist in the Prologue (1: 6–8, 15). The first parenthetic remark (verses 6–8) warns the reader not to suppose that John was the eternal Logos, the creative life which was the light of men; the second (verse 15) interposes a reference to a witness of John of which the reader is not informed, that Jesus was greater than he in spite of coming after him. It is inserted between the words "the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth" and their sequel "For of his fullness we all received, and grace for grace," thus breaking the connection. It is hard to believe that the original form of the Prologue contained these two asides about the claims made for the Baptist.

If we simply pass over these intrusive remarks about John the Baptist, the Prologue (which nominally identifies Jesus with the incarnate Logos, the Stoic principle of cosmic order and intelligibility) will be seen to be a typical Wisdom Christology of the purest Alexandrian type. One need only compare the close parallels adduced by Professor Rendel Harris in his recent little book, *Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel* (1917), which are only part of what could be adduced, to see that the term "Logos" is a mere accommodation. The writer is as genuine a Jew as Philo himself, and has taken on far less than Philo of Hellenistic color. In fact, while John's Prologue is at least as much in line as Mark's with the Gospel it introduces, and forms a true key to its meaning, the word "Logos" never reappears in its technical sense except in the preamble to the first Epistle. Let me repeat that this is not the *Memra*-Logos of Wisdom 18: 15 and Rev. 19: 13, the Destroyer-Logos of Babylonian literature described by Professor S. Langdon, but the *Hoqmah*-Logos of Philo

and the Wisdom writers, the divine spirit of creation, revelation and redemption. The Prologue, then, simply applies the Christology of Paul as the key to the story of Jesus in the way that we might expect an Apollos, or men of the school of Apollos, to do it. No longer is it put, as in Mark, in the form of midrash, or symbolic vision-story, but in the habitual forms of Jewish philosophy. As Canon Sanday has said: "Harnack says that the Philonean Logos and the Johannean have nothing in common but the name. We may go a step further and add that St. Paul's doctrine and St. John's have everything in common but the name." [6] The same might be said of the later Jewish doctrine of redemptive Wisdom. As we have seen, the name Logos is mere accommodation. All the Wisdom writers from Ben-Sirach to Baruch would simply have used "Wisdom." If our evangelist in this respect follows the example of Philo rather than Philo's Jewish predecessors it is merely on the surface. His meaning does not differ from the Wisdom writers, nor from Paul. Indeed he merely borrows Philo's term "the Logos" to paraphrase the same Pauline passage (Col. 1: 15–17) which the writer of Mark's prologue had partially reproduced in the language of Palestinian midrash. Perhaps we can form our own conception of how the person and work of Jesus were understood at the beginning of the second century in cultured Pauline circles in no better way than by paraphrasing the Prologue, a sublime Hymn of Incarnate Wisdom, whose two strophes of three utterances followed by one of four constitutes a kind of Christian Decalogue.

Strophe I describes the nature of what Paul calls "the mind (νοῦς) of Christ" as preëxistent with God. The Logos is divine, God's agent in creation and in

[6] *Expositor* (1892), p. 287. Cf. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*,[2] p. 85, and contrast Sabatier, *St. Paul.*

revelation; for it is ever distinguishing truth from error. A stoic would define it perhaps in three-fold form as Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, Λόγος προφορικός, and λόγος διακριτικός. Paul's parallel statement is: "We have our redemption in the Son of God's love, who is the Image (εἶκων) of the invisible God, the Firstborn of the whole creation, because all things in heaven and on earth were created in him, through him, and unto him. And he is before all things and in him all things consist, because the divine 'Good Pleasure' (εὐδοκία) was that the whole 'Fullness of the divine attributes' (πλήρωμα) should take up its abode in him." The Prologue of Mark had put this in the midrashic form of vision-story and a Voice from Heaven. The Prologue of John puts it in three epigrammatic utterances which we may paraphrase as follows (Jn. 1: 1–5):

(1) In the beginning, dwelling with God and partaking of the nature of God, was the Spirit of creative and redemptive Wisdom.

(2) It dwelt with God in the beginning; it was His agent in creation: there is nothing that exists apart from it.

(3) Whatever has life derives it from this source, and what men are guided by as light (inward and outward) is nothing else but this divine agency that also appears as life; its function in the world is discriminative, perpetually in victorious war with darkness.

(Here at the end of Strophe I is appended the digression of verses 6–8, to warn the reader not to confuse John the Baptist with this Light, to which he merely bore witness.)

Strophe II, which also has three utterances, speaks of this redemptive Spirit of God as the revealer of truth to all past ages of mankind, but with the tragic fate of rejection by all save Wisdom's children, the classic theme of all the Wisdom lyrics (vv. 9–13).

(1) This true light, that illuminates every human being, was unceasingly coming into the world; it was in the world; the world came into being through it; and yet the world refused it recognition.

(2) It came to its own things (τὰ ἴδια), but even its own people (οἱ ἴδιοι) did not receive it. Nevertheless on as many as did give it welcome it bestowed the right to be children of God.

(3) These are they who believe on His name; for such are not born of blood, nor of human choice or desire, but are begotten of God.

Strophe III makes up the total of ten with four utterances dealing with the incarnation of this divine Spirit, which in Ben-Sirach and Baruch "tabernacles" with Israel in the pillar of fire and cloud. It journeys in their midst to rest ultimately over the sanctuary, making its abode in Israel and its leaders, an incarnation for the salvation of the world. The Prologue adopts this classic figure of the Wisdom lyrics, passing from it to a comparison like Paul's in II Cor. 3–6 of the revelation of the Law to Moses with the revelation of grace and immortality in the face of Jesus Christ. I will omit the irrelevant interruption in v. 15 and paraphrase verses 14–18:

(1) And the Wisdom of God became flesh and "tabernacled" among us, and we beheld its glory, glory as of an "only-begotten" from the Father, full of grace and truth.

(2) For of its "fullness" (ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ) we all received, one charism upon another.

(3) For the Law was given through Moses, but grace and fulfillment of the promise came through Jesus Christ.

(4) No man (not even Moses) ever beheld God. The only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made Him manifest.

3. *General Structure of the Gospel*

Besides the use of a Prologue the Ephesian Gospel also follows the example of Mark in dividing the story of the ministry into two main sections, a Galilean ministry, covering the first six chapters, and a Judean ministry covering the last fourteen; but since another line is drawn in a very marked way at the end of chapter 12, separating the public ministry from the discourses of the upper room and the Passion story in the last eight chapters (13–20), we ought perhaps to speak rather of a three-fold division into nearly equal parts, chapters 1–6, 7–12, and 13–20.

We have thus in the section on the public ministry, a general correspondence with the Markan outline; but it is considerably obscured by a secondary scheme based upon the idea that Jesus attended the great religious feasts of Judaism at Jerusalem. Each occasion of the kind is then used by the evangelist to bring out their higher significance by word and miracle. Thus, while Jesus still makes the beginning of his ministry in Galilee, as soon as Passover arrives he goes up to Jerusalem, purifying the temple as in the Passion story of Mark, but at the same time predicting its superseding by his own death and resurrection. This public declaration of his Messiahship to all Israel at the seat of worship is followed by a dialogue with one of the teachers of Israel interpreting the doctrines of new birth and justification by faith taken in the Pauline sense. Jesus then returns to Galilee by way of Samaria, where a dialogue of similar character with a Samaritan woman serves to present the doctrine expressed by Paul in Ephesians as "access for Jew and Gentile in one Spirit unto a common Father." Thus the temple and its worship sink out of sight behind the new order. The story of the Galilean ministry is resumed in the healing

of the Nobleman's Son in Capernaum and the Miracles of the Loaves and Walking on the Sea. But between the two is interjected another "feast of the Jews," probably Pentecost, with a miracle and dialogue at Jerusalem corresponding in character with the section of Mark (2:1–3:6), in which Jesus proves his authority over the Law of Moses and his right as Son of Man to forgive sins. From this scene in Jerusalem we pass abruptly to "the other side of the Sea of Galilee" and the Galilean ministry closes, as in Mark, with the Feeding of the Multitude and an appropriate discourse on the Bread of Life interpreting the sacrament of the Supper. This takes place at a second Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, but this time Jesus remains in Galilee, because in Judea "the Jews sought to kill him."

The Jerusalem ministry, so far as public, consists of two visits, at Tabernacles and Dedication respectively. The former feast, in connection with its ceremonial of water-drawing and illumination, gives opportunity for Jesus to offer himself as Giver of rivers of living water, and (after healing a man blind from birth) as Light of the world. The second, the Feast of "Renewal" (Hanuka), which commemorated the martyrdom and resurrection of those who had given their lives for the national hope, is the occasion for Jesus' raising Lazarus from the dead, and proclaiming himself the resurrection and the life. Chapter 12, in which we are told of the Triumphal Entry and the Appeal of the Greeks, brings the story of the public ministry to a formal close. After this Jesus again withdraws, to return only at the final Passover.

The end of Chapter 12 marks a major division of the Gospel. The third and closing Passover which it describes has no public teaching. Jesus merely gives his parting instructions to the Twelve and is glorified by

the cross and resurrection. The sacramental Supper also plays no part here, all its teaching having been anticipated in the discourse in Capernaum, and Jesus' own death taking place at the time when according to Synoptic story it was instituted.

We see that the Johannine scheme of the feasts greatly interferes with the Markan outline. It even appears to have so dislocated the material in the attempt to adjust the one to the other as to bring about several instances of disorder. Thus in 6:1, we pass from Jerusalem at "the" feast of 5:1, whose name has disappeared but which the narrative indicates was Pentecost (feast of the giving of the Law), to "the other side of the Sea of Galilee." Conversely in 7:1 we are told that "After these things Jesus walked in Galilee"; whereas he *is* in Galilee, and the next thing related is his going to Jerusalem. Moreover the theme of discourse in chapter 5 is carried on much too continuously in 7:14–24 to admit the supposition that more than half a year has intervened. Apparently chapters 5 and 6 have been inverted in order, as many critics and interpreters have independently conjectured.

Various theories, too intricate for our consideration here, have been advanced to explain this and other displacements. Suffice it for the present that the evangelist has certainly made historical considerations entirely secondary to those of religious instruction and apologetic. He himself informs us that the material he has put together is a mere selection, and that the object was faith in Jesus as the Son of God to the obtaining of eternal life. The fact that the entire public ministry is presented in the form of scenes at five great religious feasts, Passover, Pentecost, Unleavened Bread, Tabernacles and Dedication, for all but one of which Jesus goes up to Jerusalem, reminds us of the five discourses of Matthew, and shows how artistically the

evangelist arranges his material. For on each occasion he describes a single mighty work of Jesus symbolical of the religious significance of the feast in question; and this is accompanied by a discourse approximating in form the Platonic dialogue, a form which had become classic for religious and philosophic teaching. These discourses are not concerned with the exhortation to repentance in view of the coming kingdom, as in Synoptic story. In fact the Johannine Christ is not a teacher of ethics, new or old. There are no publicans and sinners in the fourth Gospel. There are only on the one hand believers, on the other "the Jews," who are Jesus' opponents. The discourses are theological and polemic. They start from one of the so-called "seven I am's" of Jesus, and expound in religious dialectic the significance of his person and mission. At the initial Passover Jesus purges the temple, announcing himself as taking its place through his death and resurrection. The dialogue with Nicodemus follows, explaining the doctrines of new birth by baptism of the Spirit, and justification in the judgment by faith in the crucified Son of Man. Nicodemus disappears. The dialogue becomes a monologue, and is followed by a (displaced?) paragraph making clear the fact that the baptism of John was not "from heaven" in any such sense as that of Jesus' disciples. The Christian alone has the divine endorsement of the Spirit (3: 22–26). A second dialogue, whose scene is Jacob's well, on the return journey through Samaria, shows how this doctrine of the Spirit supersedes all local shrines, giving common access to all of every race who worship in spirit and truth to the heavenly Father. A parallel to the Synoptic anecdote of the Believing Centurion[7] closes this first section of the work.

[7] The Pauline conception of the cross (not mere Gentile faith) as the breaking down of the middle wall of partition (Eph. 2: 14–

We need not now take up consecutively the miracles and discourses of the successive feasts, which for the present I will merely enumerate. Those of chapter 5, in which the authority of Jesus is set over against that of Moses, relate to Pentecost. Chapter 6 relates to the Passover in Galilee, with its miracle of the loaves and dialogue on the Bread from Heaven. Chapters 7–9 describe Tabernacles in Jerusalem with its miracle of healing of the man born blind and dialogue on Jesus as the "Light of the World." Chapters 10–12 describe the culmination of the ministry at the feast of Dedication. Its miracle is the raising of Lazarus, and its closing discourse is on Jesus' self-dedication to the cross that he may "draw all men unto him."

From this mere enumeration it will be already clear that the evangelist's aim is not statistical but interpretative. He is no mere annalist. He has combined sayings and doings in his scheme of the five feasts in a way somewhat suggestive of the five books of the Palestinian evangelist. Unlike Matthew, however, he conceives the teaching not as law, but as gospel. It brings life and immortality to light as a present possession. The writer uses narrative and discourse in something like the proportion, and with something like the method of the Second Source; for the Second Source should not be regarded as a loose string of precepts, but as a series of discourses with brief connecting narrative, like the Petrine discourses of Acts. But no discriminating reader can imagine that the fourth evangelist attempts to reproduce the historical utterances of Jesus. They are as freely adapted as those of Socrates in the dialogues of Plato, or the discourses of Peter just referred to. All the characters alike, whether John, or Nicodemus, or the Samaritan woman, or Jesus himself, de-

16; cf. Jno. 12: 20–33) precludes the fourth evangelist from characterizing the "nobleman" as a Gentile.

bate such subjects as might have been in dispute in the schools of Ephesus, when Paul disputed daily in the school of Tyrannus. They use the language and terminology of such debate. All the characters speak just as the evangelist himself speaks in the three Epistles, and his style and language have an oracular tone which is highly characteristic. All the utterances are "as it were oracles of God."

It must be admitted that the *nature* of this Gospel's contribution to its own age and to ours is different from that which it has often been supposed to render. It was not written for historical critics, but for disciples who needed a higher interpretation of the divine revelation in the coming of Christ. What the author aimed at he has accomplished. He seeks to convey truth, and not mere fact. He seeks to reveal the heart of Christ, not to describe his outward appearance. He wishes to tell what Christ eternally *is* to the soul self-dedicated to him, not what he *was* to past observers that had neither eye nor ear for the things of the spirit. "These things were written that men might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that in this faith they might find life," as the writer had found it.

The Christ of the fourth evangelist is truly man, truly the historical Jesus, depicted as faithfully as the evangelist's information permits. Doubtless narrative as well as discourse is freely adapted; but we do him great injustice if we treat as insincere his insistence on the reality of Jesus' flesh, its tangible and corporeal nature, manifest to the historical sense, a witness borne to eye and ear-witnesses, and cherished in the Church as its choicest possession. To him on the contrary the attempt of docetic heresy to vaporize this all away was the chief danger of the Church. To his view this was the false and deceitful spirit of Antichrist foretold for the last times. His Christ is as real and historic as he

is able to depict him. But he is also the incarnate Spirit of the redeeming Wisdom of God, the revealing "Image of the invisible God," as he had been to Paul; and the evangelist is no more satisfied than Paul would have been with the depiction of a Christ after the flesh. He retains what he regards as of value in Synoptic story, but with something like the sovereign freedom of the Spirit that animated Paul. Thus the values, for him, are not in the mere record, but in its inner significance. Critical historicity in the modern sense he had neither the will nor the power to attain. For the assumption that he was an eye-witness is no longer admissible. Applying no such false and unfair standard of measurement, attempting neither to defend every part as historical fact, nor to apologize for it as "fiction," we recognize this portrait of the eternal Christ as a portrait of the heart. The artist "paints the thing as he sees it"; but he sees it with the eye of the spirit "under the aspect of the eternal." His closing words of blessing upon those who have not seen, and yet have believed, have to my mind all the meaning of an utterance of one who takes them to himself personally. This evangelist, like ourselves, had to take his evidence of a glorified Christ, conqueror of death, from others. He accepts it as sufficient; but if it were shown in any given case to be fallacious, Christ would still be to him the source of a divine and eternal life, known to inward experience. This is that eternal life of which he declares that it was with the Father and was manifested, a divine power for us to see, to bear witness to and to declare, bringing men into the true fellowship with the Father, the fellowship of self-dedication in love and service to the triumph of the reign of God. In a sense the witness is all the greater if this evangelist speaks to us from an age already remote from what we call the "historic Jesus." The Spirit of Jesus which "ener-

gized in " Paul had energized in him also. He was not remote from the eternal Christ, and he knows it. Perhaps he could afford to regard as knowledge much that was not so, and to lack knowledge of some things that we count important, if he could truly make such a confession of religious faith as this: " We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, in His Son Jesus Christ."

LECTURE IX

THE MESSAGE OF THE FOURTH EVANGELIST

1. *The Use of Material*

In our consideration of the general structure of the Ephesian Gospel, I pointed out that its main body consists of the story of the public ministry in Synoptic outline, but that upon this it superimposes a scheme of the great religious feasts of Judaism with typical "signs" and discourses of Jesus. The public ministry begins with a Passover at Jerusalem. In chapter 5 we have a second visit to Jerusalem with "sign" and discourse appropriate to Pentecost. In chapter 6 comes a second Passover, this time spent in Galilee, closing the first half. After this follow in chapters 7–9 and 10–12 visits to Jerusalem at Tabernacles and Dedication respectively, each with "sign" and discourse appropriate to the feast in question. At this point the evangelist introduces a well marked division closing the public ministry. Chapters 13–17 are concerned, like the section between the Prologue (1:1–18) and the beginning of the public ministry in 2:12, with discourses to the disciples, which have a more esoteric character. The closing chapters (17–20) present a somewhat altered form of the story of the Passion and Resurrection. But into these differences of the narrative, great as is their interest to the historical critic, I shall not enter.

Thus the career of Jesus, according to the fourth Gospel, covers exactly two years, each period beginning and ending with Passover. The earlier ministry

(chapters 2–6) is devoted to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, the later (chapters 7–12) is wholly devoted to Judea. Jesus is depicted in the three discourses of the former section first as the inaugurator of the new temple and universal worship in the Spirit (2:12–4:54), then as the inaugurator of a new Sabbath under greater authority than that of Moses (chapter 5),[1] finally as giver of the Bread of Life (chapter 6). In the Judean ministry he appears first as Light of the World (7–9), then as the Good Shepherd that layeth down his Life for the Sheep (10–12).[2] Have we any literary parallel that will help us to appreciate the general method and purpose of this arrangement? I have already adduced the five "Sermons" of Matthew. Perhaps I can suggest a parallel that will be still more helpful.

Take up the collections of Synagogue discourses delivered on occasion of the great feasts and known as *piskoth;* or take up better still the Alexandrian panegyric on the martyrs of Jewish liberty called IV Maccabees, an oration for the feast of Dedication. It is what Americans would call a Memorial Day address. Here are examples of what continued to be the custom in the Christian Church, especially in churches such as Ephesus, where we know observance of Passover at least, and perhaps others of the great Jewish feasts, was continued in Christianized form from apostolic times. Of similar type is the "Word of Exhortation" as its author calls it, known to us as the Epistle to the Hebrews. It also might well be a panegyric for the feast of Dedication (or Martyrs), written to a church just entering the shadow of bloody persecution. It has a Jewish parallel in II Maccabees, another *piskah* for the feast of Dedication. Even if this judgment be incorrect as regards Hebrews, later fathers of the Church afford us examples

[1] Displaced; see above.
[2] 10; 1–18 is displaced from after verse 25.

of discourses written to commemorate the "Day of Martyrs," Jewish and Christian. We can imagine the great festal discourses on which our fourth evangelist has based the body of his work to have been originally sermons of this type. At least they appear to me to have parallels (as respects mere literary form) in these Jewish, Alexandrian, and early Christian festal exhortations, or *piskoth*. They use the freedom of this sort of edifying discourse to present not the mere language, but the mind of Christ; and the setting of narrative which frames them in (perhaps in part constructed by a later compiler) is freely adapted to the same purpose of edification.

Thus far I have spoken only of the main body of the Ephesian Gospel, the five festal discourses of the public ministry. Even more distinctive and characteristic, perhaps more instructive and uplifting, is the outer envelope, the introductory and closing narrative which presents Jesus' private teaching of the Twelve. After the prologue we have an introductory section corresponding to the narrative introduction to the first great discourse of Matthew. It covers a period of six days like the six days of preparation before the Transfiguration after Peter's Confession. In these six days of the calling of the first disciples at the baptism of John, as in the former case, the subject is the revelation of the Messiahship.

They form a substitute in this Gospel for the Synoptic story of the Baptism and Temptation, and the Calling of the First Disciples. Instead of a colloquy with Satan to explain the higher sense in which the title "Son of God" is to be taken, John the Baptist, and ultimately Jesus himself, explain it to the disciples. The six days begin with John's witness to Jesus as he who baptizes with the Spirit, the (Isaian) "Lamb of God" (ἀμνός), whose martyrdom and intercession really

effect that removal of the sin of the world of which John's rite is merely prophetic. For John himself is nothing, not even Elijah, merely a voice crying in the wilderness to prepare for his great successor. So his disciples are directed to Jesus and learn to know him first as the Messiah. The evangelist introduces at this point his parallel to the Synoptic story of the Confession of Peter. Here, however, while Peter receives the surname, it is Andrew who first makes the confession, and another, apparently one of the sons of Zebedee, neither of whom appears in the Gospel by name, is the companion of Andrew. The final step is taken by a disciple completely unknown to Synoptic story, Nathaniel of Cana, who confesses Jesus as "Son of God" and "king of Israel." But Jesus promises them a greater revelation. They will come to know him hereafter as Son of Man, a being who stands as Mediator between man and God, serving like the Logos whom Philo had compared to the ladder seen in Jacob's dream, as the means of intercourse between earth and heaven.[3] So this evangelist deepens and universalizes the promise given to the Twelve after Peter's confession that they shall witness the coming of the Son of Man with the holy angels. Finally, as the seventh day begins at Cana, Jesus "manifests his glory" by a "sign" which cements the faith of all his disciples. It is a Christianized parallel to the legendary miracle of the epiphany, or "manifestation" of Dionysus the Savior-god of life and resurrection, at whose birth on the night of Jan. 5–6 legend related that water changed to wine. Jesus now symbolizes the transition from religions of form to the religion of reality by changing the water of "the Jews' manner of purifying" into life-giving

[3] Jn. 1: 51 follows the rendering of Gen. 28: 12: "Lo, the angels of God ascending and descending on *him*" ("*bo*"), i. e. on Jacob. It is quite doubtful whether it is affected at all by Philo.

wine. "He manifested his glory, and his disciples believed on him." Such is the Introduction to the Gospel. In the text of Westcott and Hort it is marked off from the main body of the work, like the discourses to the Twelve in the upper room (to which I next pass) by a space of three blank lines. Westcott and Hort are often found in such matters "workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

The closing third division, corresponding to the Epilogue of Mt. 26–28, is likewise limited in its teaching to the private instruction of the Twelve. It would of course be superfluous for me to recall to you the contents of the farewell discourses of the upper room, the promise of the Paraclete, the parable of the Vine of God, and the High-priestly Prayer. We are on a different level here from the Doom chapter of the Synoptic Gospels, and the prayer of Gethsemane. Even the Supper is now forgotten. A wholly different eschatology has come in. We are in the atmosphere of Paul's great chapter to the Romans (Rom. 8:18–39) on the two intercessors, the Spirit on earth and the risen Christ who pleads for us in heaven. The Second Coming is no longer a "manifestation to the world" but an indwelling of Christ and the Father in those who obey the new commandment of love. In this sense the Christ "comes again" to us; but our abiding-place is not to be on the earth. There are other mansions than these in the Father's house. To depart and be with Christ is the better portion, as in the later epistles of Paul. So here, as in the introductory chapters, the Son of Man doctrine is transformed. We have a timeless eschatology, as we have a timeless Christ. We have a vine of God bearing fruit in all the world through the vitalizing current of the Spirit of Jesus, just as in Paul's great Epistle of the Unity of the Spirit, the world is brought into a brotherhood of order and peace by agency of an organism vital-

ized by the Spirit which courses from head to members. In John the eternal life is conceived individually. It is a present indwelling of God in each regenerate soul, not admission hereafter into a kingdom of life, the reign of the Messiah.

The climax of this esoteric teaching is reached in the Highpriestly Prayer (chapter 18) in which Paul's hymn of life in the Spirit in Rom. 8, and his paean of thanksgiving in Eph. 1:1–14 are raised to still loftier tones, expanding the Synoptic promise of the Paraclete (Mt. 10:18–20). The Son is now to be glorified; he prays that those whom God has called and "sanctified" may be conformed to his own image, that he may be the firstborn of many brethren. Religious insight and aspiration have never risen to higher flights than these of the Farewell Discourse and the Highpriestly Prayer.

[I [4] would gladly linger in this holy of holies of the fourth Gospel, but to have any just sense of the general structure we must return to consider its main body, the story of the public ministry.

It is only by accommodation that we can speak of a Galilean ministry in the fourth Gospel; for the majority of the scenes even in chapters 2–6 are not in Galilee, but in Judea and Samaria. The story opens with a parallel to the Synoptic scene of the Purging of the Temple. Jesus thus presents himself publicly from the outset as vested with supreme authority to effect reform at the center of the national religion, and offers as a sign the resurrection of his body. Of course the evangelist here completely disregards the historical sequence of events, but that is habitual with him, since he is really ad-

[4] The section enclosed in [ ] which here follows was added to adapt the lecture to the requirement of the Summer School. Lecture VIII, which formed the last of the original series on "Jesus and Paul," closed with the Retrospect which now follows the added section at p. 249.

dressing his contemporaries, to whom the claims of Jesus to this authority are as well known as the resurrection which supports it. The writer is completely indifferent to the charge of anachronism, or hysteron-proteron, which modern opponents bring against him for representing the Baptist, the earliest disciples, Nicodemus and the Samaritans as all freely discussing the claims of Jesus to Messiahship in the highest Christian sense; because it is, so to speak, an understood thing in his time, that the discussion turns on the merits of the case. The particular narrator's order and way of depicting the scenes is regarded with indifference. These claims *were* the claims of Jesus. They *are* thus supported. What matter whether the story which propounds them be placed at the beginning, as required by logic, or at the end, as required by the mere sequence of history. I can imagine the fourth evangelist struck with amazement at the petty and trifling quibbles of a modern criticism which expects him to follow mere chronological order in his narrative. It suited his pedagogic purpose to transfer this story of Jesus' challenge to the temple authorities to the beginning. It gave him incidentally a chronological point of attachment to secular history similar to Luke's, by establishing a synchronism between the birth of Jesus and Herod's reconstruction of the temple. He follows the ancient tradition known to "the elders" quoted by Irenaeus, but displaced by the Lukan chronology, that Jesus was upwards of forty when he began his ministry, and dates his birth in 18 B. C. Why should there be more objection (he might say) to his depicting it as beginning with the well known scene in Jerusalem, than to Luke's transfer for similar literary reasons, of the Rejection in Nazareth, to take the place of Mark's Sabbath in Capernaum as the opening scene?

Thus introduced at Jerusalem, the work of Jesus con-

tinues until after the imprisonment of the Baptist in Judea. It passes next to Samaria; only in the third place, and for two selected scenes, the healing of the Nobleman's Son and the Miracle of the Loaves and Walking on the Sea, is it located in Galilee. Jesus' brethren, in fact, speak of his disciples as "in Judea," and urge him to go there to demonstrate his claims. Jesus himself, it is explained, went to Galilee because "a prophet is of no repute in his own country." He continued there longer than he otherwise would because in Judea "the Jews sought to kill him." Thus does our evangelist answer the ancient Jewish taunt of his Galilean origin, a taunt which is voiced by Celsus, the second-century opponent of Christianity, in the form: If he was a world-redeemer, or even the Messiah of the Jews, why did he hide himself in a corner among a few obscure and ignorant rustics?

But what use does the preacher-apologist make of his selected material? — The three panels of the successive scenes in Judea, Samaria and Galilee have each a figure of typical character, off-setting the figure of Jesus, and illustrating in the dialogue the attitude toward him assumed by his hearers in these respective regions. In Judea it is Nicodemus, who becomes a disciple, "but secretly for fear of the Jews." In Samaria it is the sinful woman, who with "many" of her compatriots openly welcomes him as "the Christ, the Savior of the world." In Galilee it is the Nobleman, who is convinced by miracle, but of whom Jesus says in conjunction with his fellow-countrymen: "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." There is no representative of the Gentile world, because the fourth evangelist holds (as against Mark, and far more consistently than Luke) to the principle that Jesus purposely confined his work to his own people. He has indeed "other sheep not of this fold," but other pro-

vision is made for them. Only at the close of the ministry do "certain Greeks" make their appeal, and they are answered in terms closely recalling the Pauline doctrine that the cross was the means whereby the law, the "middle-wall of partition," the "enmity" between Jew and Gentile, was broken down. Jesus' reply to the Greeks is: "This corn of wheat must fall into the ground and die, else it abideth alone, and I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." For this reason, I think, the "nobleman" whose son is healed in Capernaum is not (as in Matthew and Luke) a Gentile, but a type of Galilean believers; while the Woman at the Well, to whom Jesus expounds the doctrine of universalism as in Mk. 7: 24–30 to the believing Syro-phoenician, is not a Canaanite, but only a Samaritan. In the symbolism of Luke, who omits the incident of the Syro-phoenician, Samaritans play a similar part. Let us, then, look briefly at the dialogues with Nicodemus, the Samaritan Woman, and the Galilean Nobleman respectively.

The subject of the dialogue with Nicodemus is, as I have already noted, the Baptism of Regeneration by Water and the Spirit, and Justification by Faith in the Crucified Son of God. These are the two vital doctrines of Christianity as expounded by St. Paul, particularly in Romans; the special doctrines which chiefly differentiate the new revelation from Judaism. Nicodemus is a name known to us in Rabbinic literature in the form Naq-Dimon. He appears only as the wealthiest resident of Jerusalem in this period, one who was specially remembered for his benefaction to poor pilgrims to the temple by having provided for them baths of purification free of cost. In the Gospel he seems to be representative of men like Gamaliel, or Joseph of Arimathea, well disposed toward Jesus as "a teacher come from God," but even though "teachers of Israel"

ignorant of certain first principles of the faith, these teachings of baptisms.

Why, then, is it so important for the fourth evangelist to introduce them into his Gospel? Let us reflect on how little we should get from the Synoptic Gospels alone of the significance which Paul and all the Pauline churches attached to baptism as the supreme expression of the convert's faith, his participation by a moral death and resurrection in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus. To them it was the "laver of regeneration" (Titus 3:5), wherein the believer was adopted by the Spirit and made a son, an heir of eternal life. It was a spiritual circumcision, a "seal" of the promise of God. Consider this, and I think you will hardly need to ask the question why supplementary teachings should be thought needful. The Synoptic Gospels refer once or twice to baptism as an institution of John's preaching of repentance. In it Jesus participates and is revealed as he who will baptize in the Holy Spirit. Acts refers to the fulfillment of this promise, without explaining, however, how the rite came to be taken over by the Church. Matthew supplies in part the explanation by reporting an express command of Jesus to baptize, given after his resurrection. But it is extremely doubtful if any gospel writing known to the fourth evangelist contained even so much as this to explain the most fundamental of Christian rites.[5]

The Dialogue with Nicodemus supplies this surprising lack. In reply to Nicodemus' proposal to class Jesus with other heaven-sent teachers it propounds the Pauline doctrine of new birth as the real ground of admission to the kingdom of God, and proceeds to base the doctrine on the authority of the Son of Man come from heaven in order that he may be lifted up before

[5] The Gospel of Matthew in its present form seems to have been unknown to the fourth evangelist.

the eyes of a dying race "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, that whosoever hath faith in him may not perish but have everlasting life." Believers of this type are born again of water and the Spirit. For them there is no more judgment. Those who disbelieve are already judged.

The six verses at the end of chapter 3 which elaborate upon the coming of the Son of Man from heaven, the love of God thus manifested, and faith in Christ as the sole ground of deliverance in the judgment, show little or no connection with the discourse of the Baptist in vv. 22–30 to which they are attached. They are really supplementary to this part of the dialogue, whether transposed, displaced by the insertion of vv. 23–30, or themselves attached by a later hand. At all events you will find them more intelligible as a continuation of the dialogue with Nicodemus than as part of the utterance of John the Baptist. They further develop the theme of justification by faith in the Son of God, and deliverance from wrath that abides on the unbelieving. Alongside this exposition of the doctrine of new birth from the Spirit, justification by faith, and the cross as a manifestation of the love of God to a perishing world, a means by which those who look to it in faith are saved from the coming judgment, let us place now some of the leading principles of Paul. I will quote them consecutively from Romans. "Therefore by works of the law shall no flesh be justified. But now, apart from law a way of justification hath been manifested, witnessed by the law and the prophets, even a justification from God upon faith in Jesus Christ unto all that believe. For God set him forth as a spectacle in his blood, a propitiatory sacrifice, to make known His own righteousness in the remission of sins that are past." "For God commendeth His own love toward us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much

more, then, being now justified by his blood we shall be saved from the wrath through him." "Know ye not that as many of us as were baptized into Christ were baptized into his death? We are buried with him by baptism into death that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father so we also should walk in newness of life." "There is therefore now no judgment to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. . . . For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. . . . For the Spirit of adoption which teaches us to cry Abba, Father, bears witness with our Spirit that we are born of God. He that spared not His own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall He not also with him freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth?" Compare these great utterances of Paul on justification by faith in the crucified Son of God's love, and baptism as a new birth in the Spirit, with the dialogue with Nicodemus, realize what this teaching of baptism meant to Pauline Christians and I think it will scarcely be needful to ask why the great unknown disciple of Paul at Ephesus places them in the very forefront of his Gospel. And if we realize why he depicts the scene as he does, we may be less disposed to raise the very modern objection that he does not seem to be presenting historic fact, but only eternal truth.

Verses 22–30, which compare the baptism of Jesus' disciples with that of John, must, so far as I can see, be treated either as an editorial interpolation like the anti-Baptist digressions in verses 6–8 and 15 of the Prologue, or else as displaced. If we place them *after* instead of *before* verses 31–36 they form just the needful introduction to the second dialogue, that in which

Jesus expounds the doctrine of the new temple, and worship in the Spirit, to the Samaritan Woman.

I have already explained why this evangelist is debarred from using the incident of the Syro-phoenician (as do Mark and Matthew) in the interest of his universalism, and, like Luke, can only fall back on the quasi-Gentile Samaritans. The descriptive introduction gives some of the strongest evidence we have that the writer had actually visited the scenes described; but the discourse, starting with the gift of the Spirit as "living water" and proceeding to the conclusion that in the true worship in spirit of God as spirit all distinctions of race or local shrine must disappear, is simply the putting in dialogue form of the great teaching of Paul in Ephesians: "But now in Christ Jesus ye that sometime were 'far off,' aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, are made 'nigh' by the blood of Christ . . . for through him we both have access in one Spirit (outpoured alike on Jew and Gentile) unto the Father."

The third panel of the Galilean Ministry covers verses 43–54 of chapter 4, introducing the figure of the Nobleman of Capernaum, who for the same reason as the Samaritan Woman is no longer, as in Matthew and Luke, a Gentile, but who represents the somewhat unstable faith of Jesus' Galilean disciples, a faith based on their experience of his miracles, which did not long survive. There is only one passing reference in Acts (9:32) to "the church in Galilee." It seems soon to have become extinct.

The proportion of consideration given to Jesus' work in Galilee in John might seem unduly short; but with chapter 4 we should probably connect immediately chapter 6, which begins, "After these things Jesus went away to the other side of the Sea of Galilee," and relates the Miracle of the Loaves, the Walking on the

Sea, and Discourse in Capernaum. The intervening chapter 5 in which Jesus goes to Jerusalem to a feast (probably Pentecost) seems to be displaced. Many authorities, reaching back to and including Luther, have come independently to this conclusion, and I shall take the liberty of assuming its truth, though I do not agree with the majority of these authorities in regarding the displacement as accidental, but regard it as due to the editorial revision undergone by the Gospel, or at least by its material. One object of that revision seems to have been to introduce the special warnings against too high a valuation of John the Baptist, another to bring the work into closer harmony with Synoptic tradition. Chapter 5 relates the Healing of a Paralytic and a debate with "the Jews" as to Jesus' authority as compared with Moses', a debate occasioned by his disregard of the sabbath. It is a manifest parallel to the Synoptic section Mk. 2:1–3:6, which of course precedes the Miracle of the Loaves and Walking on the Sea. Thus the present order is Synoptic. But in John the course of the dialogue indicates that the occasion is really Pentecost, the feast of the Giving of the Law, although the name of the feast in 5:1 has been obliterated. And if the occasion be really Pentecost, the original place of chapter 5 will have been immediately *after,* not *before,* chapter 6, which deals with Passover (ver. 4) and Unleavened Bread (vv. 30–59). A further reason for transposition is that chapter 7 begins with a reference to Jesus' walking in Galilee because of the threat to his life in Jerusalem in chapter 5, and continues with the account of his next going up to the autumn feast of Tabernacles.

Postponing, then, chapter 5 and its controversy with the Jerusalem scribes, we find as the third section of the Galilean ministry, the Healing of the Nobleman's Son, followed by the Miracle of the Loaves, the Walking on

the Sea, and the discourse in Capernaum on the Bread of Life (4:43–54; 6:1–71). The events of chapter 6 are appropriate to the occasion; for it is declared in verse 4 to be Passover, or the Feast of Unleavened Bread. All these incidents have, of course, close parallels in the Synoptic record, as we should expect of scenes in Galilee. In speaking of Synoptic parallels I do not except the Discourse in Capernaum; because while the theme is greatly expanded in John it reproduces the discussion of the meaning of the saying "Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees" introduced in Mk. 8:10–21 after the Feeding of the Four Thousand, when the Pharisees encounter Jesus as he is leaving the boat, and where, as in John, they demand a Sign from Heaven. Nor do I except the closing paragraph of the section (Jn. 6:60–70), which corresponds to the Rebuke of Peter, related by Mark almost immediately after (Mk. 8:27–9:1).

What, then, is the practical — or shall we say pragmatic — motive of this section of John, the only one to which the term *Galilean* ministry can properly be applied?

I have already suggested that the key to the intended application of the incident of the Healing lies in the word — seemingly so harsh — placed in the mouth of Jesus: "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." Even harsher and more uncalled for by anything in the narrative might seem the saying to the multitude who have come from the scene of the Multiplication of Loaves seeking Jesus in Capernaum: "Ye seek me, not because ye saw miracles, but because ye ate of the loaves and were filled." The Galilean following of Jesus does not seem to rank high in the esteem of this evangelist. But the deprecation of that type of faith which seeks after a sign and physical benefits is not confined to this passage, nor to the Johannine writer.

The fourth evangelist evinces it in the utterance of the believing Samaritans in 4:41 f. It appears again at the close, in the rebuke of Thomas' unbelief, followed by a blessing on those who believe without ocular proof. But there is no innovation here. A kindred note of equal moral elevation marks Paul's deprecation of the Corinthians' craving for the spectacular gifts of the Spirit, and commendation of those which will long outlast miracles and tongues, the gifts of faith, hope, and (above all) love.

We need hardly ask why the evangelist's selection from the rich store of Galilean tradition is limited, after the Healing of the Nobleman's Son, to the Miracle of the Loaves and the Walking on the Sea. These form the climax, in all forms of the Synoptic narrative, of the Galilean ministry. Already in Mark's Gospel there are unmistakable traces of a symbolizing tendency, shaping the form into closer relation with the events of Passion-week, and Jesus' triumph over the gates of Sheol, as well as other traits which reflect the ritual of the Supper. An Ephesian evangelist could hardly be expected to accept the Roman form of the tradition made dominant by Mark, wherein the parting supper is constituted a Christian Passover. In John the last supper is merely an ordinary meal. The Passover is eaten without participation by Jesus or his disciples on the evening of the day of crucifixion. In the scenes of the upper room the only sacramental feature is the washing of the disciples' feet. However, it was impossible that an evangelist who lays such stress upon the great sacrifice, Christ as the atoning Lamb of God, the propitiation for our sins and those of the whole world, and who makes the cross the very goal of his career, should neglect the one great sacrament of the Lord's own institution. Strangely one-sided would his work have appeared in his own eyes, perhaps even Gnostic in

tendency, if after the full exposition of the significance of Christian baptism in the Dialogue with Nicodemus he had given no interpretation of the Supper of the Lord. He uses the occasion of the Miracle of the Loaves and Walking on the Sea, already partially adapted to this purpose in Synoptic narrative, as symbolic of Jesus' victory over death. The discourse, on the Bread of Life, interprets the meaning of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man. Jesus makes this a condition of sharing in his immortality.

We have here the evangelist's habitual form of dialogue, though as before it soon passes into monologue. The interlocutors are in this case "the people" who have followed Jesus to Capernaum from the scene of the Multiplication of Loaves, and who (as in the Synoptics and also in the opening scene of the Johannine ministry) demand from him there, as he is teaching in the Synagogue, "a sign from heaven." This time Jesus gives the answer of the Second Source in its Lukan form: the Son of Man who comes from heaven is himself the sign, as was Jonah to the Ninevites. He is the means of resurrection also, but only as they assimilate his nature. To those who eat his flesh and drink his blood it will be as the manna which Moses gave to Israel in the wilderness, a true bread from heaven, a food of immortality. He declares and reiterates in many forms the assertion: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live forever, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Thus far we have a manifest blending of the Synoptic story of the Multiplication of Loaves, Walking on the Sea, and Demand for a Sign from Heaven, with Pauline teachings on the effect and meaning of the communion

of the body and blood of Christ. Paul, it is true, had not directly employed the figure of the manna, any more than in speaking of God's "setting forth" Jesus in his blood as a token of propitiation to the eye of penitent faith he had made express mention of the brazen serpent. The specific comparison belongs to the Ephesian evangelist. So with respect to the "spiritual meat and drink" supplied from heaven to those who followed Moses into the wilderness. Paul stops short of mentioning the "spiritual meat" by name as "manna." He says that "the spiritual rock from which they drank was Christ," and merely implies the same regarding their "spiritual meat." The evangelist is specific. Nor does he stop with the mere addition and development of this link. He concludes the long discourse on the Bread of Life by a paragraph describing division among Jesus' disciples as to the meaning of his words. Many forsake him entirely at the "hard saying." To the faithful remnant Jesus explains that only the assimilation of his teaching, the words that transmit his spirit, are the real food of immortality. "The flesh (the opus operatum of the rite) profiteth nothing"; his spoken word is spirit and life.

It is in this closer distinction as to the meaning and value of sacraments that we trace a further reason, beyond mere enrichment from the Pauline Epistles, for the evangelist's recast of Synoptic story. Here the Johannine Epistles come to our aid with their denunciation of the prevailing false tendencies, tendencies kindred to, if not derived from, the mystery religions. The evangelist deprecates a disposition to seek immortality by ritual or sacramental act, without assimilation of the spirit of Jesus, or obedience to his new commandment.

I can only briefly characterize the Dialogue on the Authority of the Son of Man in chapter 5, which (as

already pointed out) is the Johannine counterpart of the controversy of Jesus with the scribes in Mark 2:1–3:6, and may for that reason have been transposed to a corresponding place, before, instead of after, chapter 6.

We infer from the adaptation elsewhere of the Johannine discourses to the feasts on which they are dated, that the missing name of the feast in verse 1 (an occasion of considerable variation among the texts) may be supplied as ἡ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, Pentecost, the feast then regarded as commemorating Moses' giving of the Law at Sinai. At all events narrative and discourse alike center upon Jesus' defense of his higher authority in overriding the law of Moses in order to give that "life" which the Law purported to bring, but Paul had declared it could not give.

The incident with which the scene opens is a close parallel, coinciding even in phraseology, with the opening scene of the corresponding section of Mark. Jesus by his mere sovereign word restores a helpless paralytic. In Mark, it is true, the scene is Capernaum, not Jerusalem; and the Markan debate as to the lawfulness of his healing on the Sabbath occurs à propos of another healing at the end of the section (Mk. 3:1–6), which also includes several other instances of objection by the scribes to Jesus' disregard of religious law and ordinance. The issue, however, is the same in both cases, "the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to slay him because he did these things on the sabbath." To some extent even the line of defense is similar. Jesus appeals in Mark also to his higher authority as Son of Man, and challenges the scribes to say which is more truly consonant with the sabbath law, to save life (as he is doing with his healing power) or to kill, as they seek to do in plotting against his life.

Similarly in the Johannine discourse Jesus advances first of all his God-given authority as Son of Man and

Judge of the World extending to life and death. This claim is supported by two witnesses. These do not include John, who was only the bearer in God's mercy of a special warning to the Jews. The witnesses are Jesus' own works, and the testimony in Scripture of Moses and the prophets.

Here the evangelist envisages the great problem of Paul's missionary career: How reconcile the divine authority of the Mosaic revelation with the new economy of grace introduced by the cross? Mark had merely opposed the Christian authority to the Mosaic with a bald appeal to miracle: "But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath authority to remit sin as judge (verse 28, authority over the sabbath) rise, take up thy bed, and walk." The fourth evangelist goes deeper. The eternal life which the Scriptures are supposed to convey is not there if they are treated as mere rules to be obeyed. If, however, they are taken as divine witnesses which point to him they will lead to the real source of life. In this sense Moses and Elias are his witnesses. Jewish unbelief is condemned out of the mouth of those to whom they themselves appeal. I have said that this application of Paul's contrast of the revelation of life with that of the handwriting of ordinances given to Moses, goes deeper than Mark. How deep, appears only when we take further into consideration this evangelist's identification of Christ with the eternal Logos of all revelation, comparing the opening words of the Epistle, which speak of Christ's coming as a manifestation of "the life, even the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us." Even more completely than in Paul all bondage of the letter is overcome by the principle that the function of Scripture is simply and solely to bring men into contact with the eternal Spirit of Truth in his self-manifestation throughout the

generations. *All* authority is committed to the eternal Son of Man. That of Moses and the prophets is not excepted.

It would require a complete commentary on the fourth Gospel to deal adequately with all the great discourses, including those of the Judean ministry. I cannot take time to speak of the Healing of the Man born Blind and the accompanying discourse on Jesus as Light of the World given at the Feast of Tabernacles with its ceremonial of illumination. It occupies, as you know, chapters 7–9, and is of an increasingly polemic character as the threats against Jesus' life become more frequent and menacing. I can only ask you to compare with Jesus' rejection in 8:33 ff. of the Jews' claim to freedom as the seed of Abraham with Paul's comparison in Gal. 4:21–31, where the free seed of Abraham according to the Spirit are opposed to the fleshly seed, who are children of the bond-woman Hagar, and who prove their Ishmaelite descent by persecuting those who have been born, as Isaac was, through a word of promise. You should also compare Rom. 6:16 on servitude to sin.

The fifth and last of the festal discourses, perhaps the greatest of all, is placed at Dedication, the feast of the Maccabean martyrs who had given their lives for the faith. By a slight displacement its opening paragraph, the parable of the Good Shepherd who giveth his life for the sheep, has become interwoven with the saying about the Door of the Sheep in 10:1–18. Restoring this parable after verse 22, where Jesus comes to Jerusalem at Dedication, we find a consistent whole. The "sign" of this feast of the resurrection (for such, as we see from Fourth Maccabees, Dedication had come to be) is the raising of Lazarus; for Lazarus (i. e., Eleazar) is the Maccabean martyr-hero of the resurrec-

tion. The discourse centers in the well-known comfort to Mary and Martha in the scene at Bethany, where Jesus presents himself as "the resurrection and the life," something better than rising again "at the last day." Thereafter the Jews gather in council, and resolve to put Jesus to death following the pregnant advice of Caiaphas: "It is expedient for us that one man die for the nation."

Surely it is needless for me to adduce a motive for this expansion or elaboration of Synoptic story. Synoptic story has practically no teaching on the all-important question of bereaved souls. It accepts the Pharisean doctrine of resurrection and tells of Jesus' answer to the Sadducean objection. It also relates the story of the Empty Tomb. But of the Pauline doctrine of eternal life in Christ it is as silent as of the incident of the raising of Lazarus itself. A gospel intended for a Pauline church could not overlook this deficiency. From what source the evangelist drew the story we know not. We do know that he has framed into it such "words of eternal life" as come, not indeed in the mere language, but in vital truth, from Christ alone. Only an unsympathetic mind can prevent our recognizing in this great discourse on the Resurrection, the hand and voice of one who with the disciples of Paul had found in the living, eternal Christ one who "brings life and immortality to light through the gospel." Should he not give to the Church, in whatever literary form he could best express it, his sense of this highest teaching of the Lord?

2. *Values Past and Present*

Such survey of the Gospel as the time permitted we have now made. How shall we express the message of the evangelist to his own times and to ours?

Nothing, perhaps, comes with greater surprise to the

reader of the fourth Gospel who approaches it with a mind emptied of all prepossession, than the freedom with which its author has cut loose from the already half-stereotyped Synoptic outline, and has dipped boldly into the broad and often turbid stream of tradition for material adapted to his purpose. An extraordinary license was accorded in his age to the preacher to employ allegory, myth, symbolism, legend, parable, whatever he will, in the interest of religious edification. But we must include also a share of that spirit of Paul, which made the great Apostle turn from the intercourse we should have expected him to seek among those who had been apostles before him in Jerusalem in order first to "go away into Arabia" and thereafter begin preaching the gospel not from man, the message which had come to him "in the spirit." Only thus can we account for so bold a dependence on the insight of faith, the vision of those who have not seen, and yet have believed. We do know, however, that there were others in this writer's day who used equal liberty with the sacred story, yet without this writer's insight into its moral and religious values; and it is in relation to these "Gnostics falsely so-called" multiplying myths and legends and fantastic speculations, that we must view his work. Surely it deserves to be considered the great Christian product of his age, perhaps the greatest of any age.

I have made special effort, as I cast this hasty survey over the contents of the Gospel, to show you its completely Pauline character. It does with the story of Jesus what we might expect Paul to do had he lived to meet the dangers of that hour. Or perhaps I should rather say that it selects certain outstanding elements of the story in order to suffuse them with the glow of Paul's spiritual interpretation of the whole. The incarnation of the eternal, redeeming Wisdom of God;

the atoning Lamb that bears the sin of the world; Baptism as a new birth in the Spirit for those justified by faith in the Son of God lifted up on the cross as a token of God's redeeming love; the new Temple as the shrine of a universal worship in spirit and truth, access in one Spirit to a common Father; the Authority of the living Word over against Moses and the Law; Communion in the body and blood of Christ as "spiritual meat and drink"; Freedom of the spiritual seed of Abraham; Eternal life as the present possession of the believer; the cross as breaking down the wall of partition; the two Paracletes in heaven and on earth — all these great Pauline themes have been woven into the gospel texture. And not only so, but the picture as a whole has become the picture of a Christ "not after the flesh." It is Paul far more than this evangelist who deserves the title of first theologian of the Church. It is Paul who should more justly be called the great Apostle of Love. But Paul did not survive till the age when his churches found it necessary to bring his theology into some sort of accommodation to the Galilean tradition of Jesus' life and teaching; and while Paul's churches had frequent need that he should remind them of the new commandment of love as "the fulfilling of the whole law," there had not yet arisen within the Church itself a great systematic impulse toward "lawlessness," a "gnosis that puffs up" devoid of the "love that builds up." The critical hour of Gentile Christianity was when forty years after Paul's death the churches of Asia lay between the Scylla of reaction toward Jewish legalism and the Charybdis of Gnostic theosophy. We owe it above all to the Ephesian evangelist, that it found a clear and open course by holding up to the world the spiritual Christ of Paul, and interfusing into the record of the teaching of Jesus the Pauline doctrines of grace.]

May we hold, then, that there is still need of the gospel as theology? In our time few pay homage to the fallen Queen of the sciences. "Religion without theology" is the cry. Too often it means only that the speaker has not the courage, if he has the ability, to make a reasoned statement of his own regarding these deepest questions of life, and has lost confidence in the capacity of his fellow-men to do it for him. Too many are determined, consequently, either to go without a reasoned faith, or to fall back on what they take to be the reasoning of the past. Just because the work was so grandly done at Ephesus for the second century, later generations have unduly excused themselves. The true lesson of the great Pauline theologian of the Johannine writings is not the imitation of his language, or even of his forms of thought. Still less is it the fruitless attempt to make his ideas our own precisely as they stand. Our lesson from this unknown successor of Paul should be the imitation of his courage and the freedom of his faith. We should learn from him to do again for our age what he did for his.

The glimpses that we get of the inner history of Ephesus, the great metropolis of the Pauline churches, shows as one of the most significant phenomena of its earliest years the turning of a community of disciples of the Baptist under Pauline tutelage to a baptism of the Spirit, a baptism into the name of Jesus as the Son of God. Its latest years were marked by the incoming of grievous wolves not sparing the flock, a teaching of Antichrist, threatening to sweep away the whole Church from its relation to the historic Jesus. Asiatic Christendom was in danger of forsaking the way of "reconciliation" by moral self-dedication to the God whose nature is unconquerable love, and of entering the delusive paths of gnosis. I have thought sometimes it were well to write over the superscription of the Fourth

Gospel the two texts that tell the history of that church. We have first the story in Acts of the winning of Apollos the learned Alexandrian Jew and the company of disciples of John that were with him, to the Pauline doctrine of Life in the Spirit. So the first disciples in the opening scene of this Gospel are won to the Greater than John that came after him. We might put after that the utterance of the subjoined Epistle against the deniers of the word of the cross: "This is he that came by water and by blood, even Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood." Historical appreciation of the development of Christianity at Ephesus between the periods to which those two texts refer would make us better realize the service done to the eternal truth by the unknown author of this "spiritual Gospel." In it the evangelist has made a restatement for his own age of the whole gospel of the Church, including both that of the Galilean disciples and that of Paul. He gives an account to his own age, in the modes of thought that belong to that age, of the meaning of the story of Jesus, when looked at from the view-point of the eternal. Is it not, then, worth while, when we read the Epistles and Gospel of John, first to understand as if we belonged to that age, and then to follow their writer's example, remembering our own age, and the duty of bringing home to it both the Jesus of history, and the Christ of faith?

Thus we return to our starting-point. There is no greater service men like ourselves can do for our age than to sweep away the fogs and obscurities which gather round the figures of Jesus and of Paul. Jesus and Paul are champions of the only gospel that has real promise for our struggling world. But we must see Jesus as Paul saw him, the embodiment of an eternal agency of the redeeming God. And of all writers, sacred or profane, who if we take their point of view

are competent to bring us into contact with Jesus and Paul, there is but one whom the Church has justly crowned as their spiritual interpreter. The "higher synthesis" of Jesus and Paul belongs to the Ephesian evangelist; for he bears his witness to the story of the self-dedication of Jesus, not as though it were a mere romance of martyrdom for the kingdom's sake, but as a "manifestation of the life, even the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." His joy we make full when we enter into fellowship with him by declaring to the world this eternal Christ. "Yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ."

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